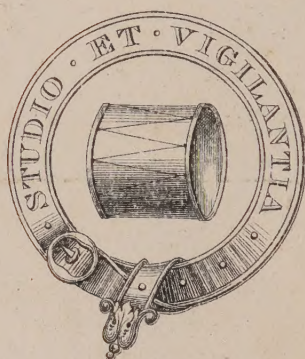






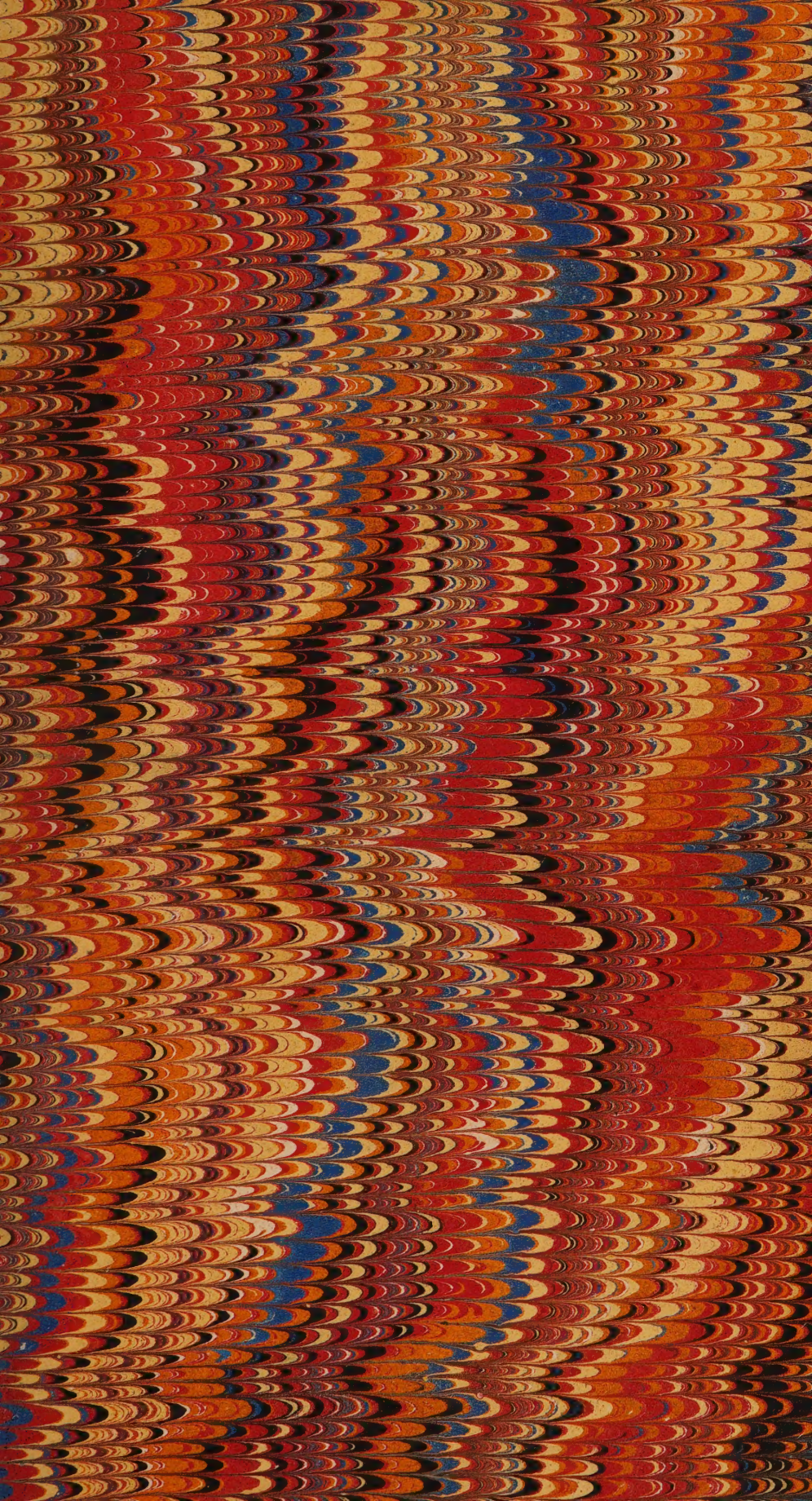
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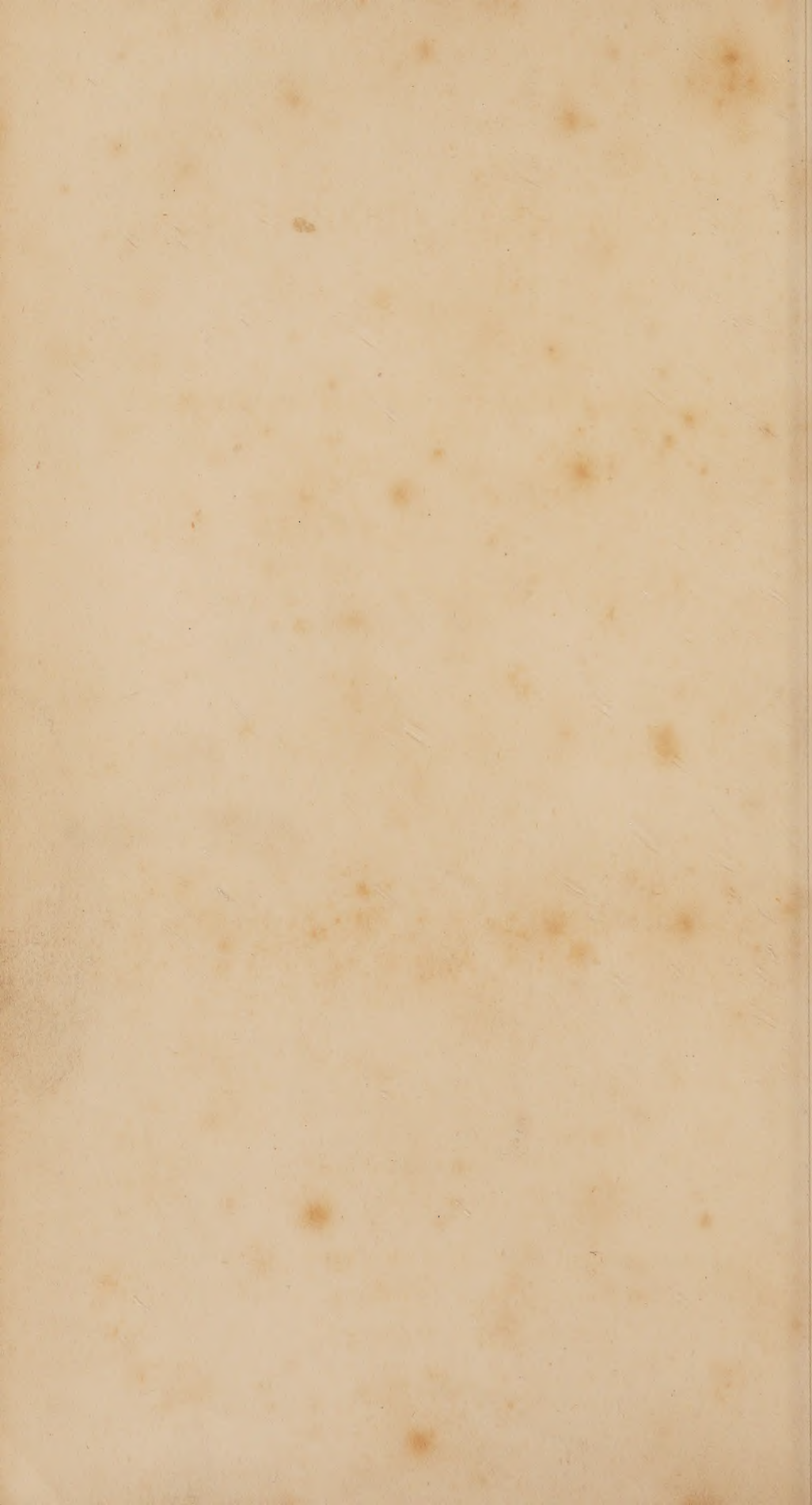
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AN

ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY,

CONTAINING THE

Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines,

INTERSPERSED WITH NOTICES OF

HERETICS AND SCHISMATICS,

FORMING

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN EVERY AGE.

BY

WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D.

VICAR OF LEEDS.

VOL. I.

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TO SIR WILLIAM PAGE WOOD, M. P.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Having brought to a conclusion The Ecclesiastical Biography, in the compilation of which I have found, for several years, a pleasing occupation for my few leisure hours, I dedicate these Volumes to you. From our boyhood we have been accustomed to take sweet counsel together in all that relates to religious principle and sentiment ; you have walked with me in the House of God as my Friend ; you have stood true to the Church of England through evil report and good report ; and you have been charitably opposed to religious extremes whether on the side of Romanism or on the side of Puritanism ; treading ever in that *via media* in which we are instructed that the Truth must always be found. To such a one it is a pleasure to be able to say that, at the termination of this Work, I find myself more than ever confirmed

in those Principles which we thought out together in early life, and long before the controversies arose which now unfortunately disturb the Church; and, with an increased feeling of deep gratitude to the merciful Providence which, amidst the excitements of the Reformation, over-ruled the passions of our ancestors and directed their minds, while removing the corruptions of Medievalism and the various errors which grew up in the dark ages, to “stand in the ways and see and ask for the old paths,” so that we, their descendants, find rest to our souls in walking in that good way,—the straight and narrow path,—which they marked out for us; and possess a Church, both Catholic *and* Protestant, which, notwithstanding many defects in the administration of it, is the glory of our native land, the terror of the Papist, the monitor of the Puritan, and the bulwark of the truth as it is in Jesus.

Let me add that it is impossible to approach Ecclesiastical History or Biography without being impressed with the fact, that the holiest of men, whether Fathers, Reformers, or Modern Divines were not only fallible but sinful men; and never let us forget that Scriptural truth so firmly held in the



Primitive Church, obscured in the Medieval Church, and re-asserted at the Reformation, but repudiated by the Tridentines, that we must rely for justification not on our own righteousness, for sin cleaves to our holiest things,—but on the alone merits and righteousness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, and the King of Saints.

I am, my dear Friend,

Your's most truly,

W. F. HOOK.

LEEDS VICARAGE,

15th May, 1852.





## P R E F A C E .

THE following compilation is one of very humble pretensions on the part of the author, although he may be permitted to hope that its usefulness will be considerable to those for whose service it was composed.

It was commenced in 1844, and has been continued in monthly parts till its completion in 1852. It was designed for those among the author's parishioners, who, engaged in commercial pursuits, and without much time for study, take an interest in Ecclesiastical affairs, and desire to become acquainted with the History of the Church and her divines. If it shall be found useful by masters of National Schools and their pupil teachers, or even by those of the clergy who, labouring in remote parishes, have no extensive library at hand, the author will be more than repaid for the trouble he has taken and the labour he has expended upon the Work.

Although the form is biographical, yet the object is historical. The reader must not expect to find

in the articles of a Dictionary necessarily brief, the anecdotes which render Biography one of the most interesting branches of study ; the object of a Biographical narrative devoted to one subject is to throw light upon character ; whereas, a Biographical dictionary can only be expected to state the circumstances under which a distinguished character has been placed.

The Biographies in these volumes have been written on the following plan : All points of minor interest or importance, such as those which relate to a person's family, have been either omitted or slightly noticed : for these, and for all minuter facts, the reader must have recourse to those works, which are devoted exclusively to the history of the person whose life can, in this place, be only briefly noticed, and to which reference is made at the foot of each article.

There have been in most men's lives one or two important events to which a peculiar interest is attached ; and, by omitting points of minor importance, an opportunity has been afforded of dwelling upon these at considerable length. Historical events of Ecclesiastical interest have been narrated with some minuteness of detail, when the subject of a Biography has been instrumental in their accomplishment ; when, on the contrary, he has been chiefly distinguished by his literary labours, the chief dates have been given, which are followed by extracts from his works.



On doubtful points, relating either to dates, or to other matters of detail, the author has adopted the conclusion which he thinks most probable, without entering into a discussion of the reasons by which he has been influenced in his decision; to have done this would have been to occupy more space than could, in such a work as this, be allotted to one subject.

The authorities on which each Biography of importance is composed, are given at the end of the article: the very words of a biographer or historian have been adopted, when the fact he relates is briefly or happily expressed.

Besides the authorities quoted at the end of each article, use has been made of Moreri, Bayle, and Chalmers, the *Biographia Britannica*, the *Biographie Universelle*, and other similar works.

The author does not make the slightest pretensions to impartiality; and he never gives credit to the sincerity of an author who professes to be impartial. The compiler of these Biographies has seen every event with the eye of one nurtured in the Church of England, and, he hopes, thoroughly imbued with her spirit and principles. At the same time he trusts that he has done justice to every one, whether Papist or Puritan, when sincerity, even in error, and real piety have been displayed. The author believes that he proves his real love of fair dealing by making this admission; as the reader, now knowing the bias of the author's mind, will be

prepared to make due allowance for those prejudices, the existence of which, the author does not attempt to conceal.

The names of divines who have flourished in the present century are not included in these volumes ; a rule which it was found expedient to adopt after the publication of the first parts of the work.

The reader is indebted to Sir William Page Wood, M.P., late solicitor-general to her Majesty, for the Life of Bishop Berkeley ; to the Rev. G. A. Poole, for the Lives of Bede, Cyprian and Wicliff ; to the Rev. Dr. Maitland, for the Life of Foxe, the Martyrologist ; and to the Rev. G. Wyatt, for the Life of Heylin.

At the end of the work a chronological arrangement is given of the chief characters in each century, for the use of those who desire to employ these volumes as an Ecclesiastical History.



## PREFACE.

THE following Work is designed to afford information and instruction to persons who, with little time for study, are desirous of becoming acquainted with the outlines of Ecclesiastical History, and with the character of those illustrious men, who have been raised up by Divine Providence, from time to time, to maintain the cause of evangelical truth in the Catholic Church, either by the force of their writings, or by the brightness of their example.

The Lives are arranged alphabetically, but an index will be given at the conclusion of the work, by which they may be read chronologically, so that the work may become a short Ecclesiastical History to those who think proper to use it as such.

The Biographies have been written on the following plan: All points of minor interest or importance, such as those which relate to a person's family, have

been either omitted or slightly noticed ; for these, and for all minuter facts, the reader must have recourse to some of the works referred to in the article, which may be devoted exclusively to the history of the person whose life can, in this place, be only briefly noticed.

There are in most men's lives one or two important subjects to which a peculiar interest is attached, and, by omitting points of minor importance, an opportunity has been afforded of dwelling upon these at considerable length. Historical events of ecclesiastical interest have been narrated at some length, when the subject of a biography has been instrumental in their accomplishment ; when, on the contrary, he has been chiefly distinguished by his literary labours, the chief dates have been given, which are followed by extracts from his works.

On doubtful points, relating either to dates, or to other matters of detail, the author adopts the conclusion which he thinks most probable, without entering into a discussion of the reasons by which he has been influenced in his decision ; to have done this would have been to occupy more space than can, in such a work as this, be allotted to one subject.



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# ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY.

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## AAR.

AARE ; Diederick, or Dirk Vander, flourished in the 13th century, and was bishop of Utrecht. He seems to have attended more to the temporalities of his see than to his spiritual duties ; and was involved in frequent warfare with William, count of Holland. He died at Deventer, on the 5th of December, 1212, after governing Utrecht for fourteen years.—*Beka and Heda de Episcopis Ultra-jectinis.*

AARON. A presbyter of Alexandria who, about the year 620, wrote thirty books on physic in the Syriac language : in these it is said that he described the smallpox and the measles.—*Moreri.*

AARON ST. Of Aaron we know nothing except the happy fact that, with St Julius, he suffered martyrdom in Britain, during the persecution by the emperor Dioclesian, in the year 303, about the same time as the proto-martyr of our Church, St Alban. We are not acquainted with the British names of either Aaron or Julius, neither have we any particulars of their death. They had each a church erected to his memory in the city of Caer-Leon, the ancient metropolis of Wales ; and their festival is placed in the Roman Martyrology on the first of July.

There is another St Aaron, who is said to have been the founder of the first monastery in Bretagne. He flourished in the 6th century, and was eminent for his piety. When St Malo fled from Britain into Gaul, he was received and

hospitably entertained by Aaron, who resided on a little island not far distant from the present town of St Malo. He shared with St Malo the task of converting the heathens; and, surrounded by his converts, he was induced to erect a monastery, over which he presided till his death in 580.—*Alban Butler*.

ABBADIE, JAMES, was born at Hay, in Berne, in 1654, according to some accounts, and in 1658, according to another authority. After completing his theological studies, and taking his doctor's degree at Sedan, he settled at Berlin, as minister to a French protestant congregation. In 1688 he accepted an invitation from marshall Schomberg, to accompany him first to Holland, and then to England, with the prince of Orange. He was for a time minister of the French congregation at the Savoy, but afterwards went to Ireland, and became dean of Killaloo. He died in 1727. His works are, 1. *Sermons sur divers textes de l'écriture*, 8vo. 1680. 2. *Panegyrique de M. l'electeur de Brandenbourg*, 4to. 1684. 3. *Traité de la vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*. 8vo. This work, which has gone through many editions, has been translated into English, in 2 vols. 4. *Reflexions sur la presence réelle du Corps de J. C. dans l'Euchariste*, 12mo. 1685. 5. *Traité de la Divinite de notre Siegneur Jesus Christ*, 8vo. 1689. This also has been translated into English. 6. *L'Art de se connoître soi-meme, ou la recherche des sources de la morale*, 1692, 12mo. 7. *Defence de la nation Britannique*, 1692, 8vo. This was an answer to a tract by Bayle on the English Revolution. 8. *Panegyrique de Marie reine d'Angleterre*, 1695, 4to. 9. *Histoire de la conspiration dernière d'Angleterre*, 1698, 8vo. This very scarce book was written by command of William III., and contains all the particulars of what was called the Assassination Plot. 10. *La vérité de la Religion Reformée*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1718, 11. *Le Triomphe de la Providence et de la Religion*, 4 vols. 12mo. 1723. This is a commentary on the Revelation. Besides these works,



he published some single sermons, and had a concern in the French translation of the English liturgy.—*Biog. Brit. Nicéron.*

ABBOT, GEORGE, was born at Guildford, in Surrey, 29th of October, 1562. He was the son of a clothworker. Having received his primary education at the grammar school of his native town, he was removed in 1578 to Baliol college, Oxford. There he became distinguished for his industry and talent as well as for his Calvinistic opinions, and for the zeal with which he entered into the views of the puritan or low church party. In 1593 he took his degree of B.D. and in 1597 that of D.D: he was in the same year elected master of University college. In 1598 he published his first work, “*Questiones sex, totidem Prælectionibus in scholâ theologicâ Oxoniæ pro formâ habitis, discussæ et disceptatæ, anno 1597.*” In the following year, 1599, he was installed as dean of Winchester, through the interest, as it is supposed, of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, chancellor of the university of Oxford, who must have been well acquainted with the learning and talent of Dr. Abbot. He now occupied two posts of great importance, the duties of one of which he was obliged to neglect. Bad as pluralities at all times are, the evil must have been greater when the facilities of locomotion were less. In 1600 he published his “*Exposition of the Prophet Jonah, in certain sermons preached at St Mary’s, in Oxford;*” and being vice-chancellor that year, he, in that capacity, replied to an application to the University for advice from the citizens of London, whether or not the cross at Cheapside, which had been lately taken down, should be re-erected. Dr Abbot was very strong on the negative side of the question, representing the emblem of our salvation as “a monument of superstition, a great inducement and ready way to idolatry.” It is interesting to know that, notwithstanding the vice-chancellor’s opposition to the cross, it was re-erected under the direction of the

archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift, and the bishop of London, Bancroft. It appears that, at that time, the rulers of the Church and the heads of the universities were not always found to agree, and yet it is not doubted that several heads of houses were distinguished for their learning, and some of them respectable for their theological acquirements.

Being vice-chancellor in 1603, Dr Abbot waited upon King James I. at Woodstock, to congratulate him upon His accession to the throne; and on this occasion he was attended by the celebrated William Laud, at that time one of the proctors of the university. Against William Laud, destined to be his successor, and in some measure the victim of his misrule, Dr Abbot took an early and inveterate prejudice; Laud being as firm and consistent in maintaining the catholic principles of the church of England as Dr Abbot was decided in opposing them. In the year 1604, his indignation was roused against Laud for maintaining, in his exercise for his B.D. degree, the necessity of the holy Sacrament of Baptism, which being instituted by our Blessed Lord as the laver of regeneration, is pronounced by our Church to be “generally necessary to salvation;” and for maintaining also that for the constitution of a true Church, a diocesan episcopate is necessary. This, Dr Abbot and his party argued, would go to “unchurch” all protestant communities: as if the fact were altered by our believing it or not. It is a matter of fact, that unepiscopal denominations of Christians are portions of the catholic Church, or that they are not: our *believing* this fact does not alter the fact one way or the other; though if we *do* believe the fact to be that they are not true Churches, we are bound in our desire to advance the spiritual welfare of our fellow creatures, and to promote the glory of God and the propagation of His truth, to say so. If we are, on the contrary, erroneous in our opinion, then it will be found in the last day that the sects are *not* unchurched by their separation, and no harm is done.

It was, of course, impossible for a vice-chancellor to refuse his degree to a young man of learning, merely because, in an orthodox exercise, he had given offence to an heretical professor; but we are informed that the vice-chancellor and the low church party in the university, determined to watch their opportunity for involving the young bachelor of divinity in trouble, although we are not informed how this was reconciled to their profession of Christianity. It does not appear that they found an opportunity till the year 1606, when Dr Airey was vice-chancellor. We then find Dr Abbot zealously supporting the vice-chancellor, who had the temerity to censure a sermon preached by Laud on the 26th of October, as containing "sundry scandalous popish passages;" "the good man," says Dr Heylin, "taking all things to be matter of popery which were not held forth unto him in Calvin's Institutes; conceiving that there was as much idolatry in bowing at the name of JESUS, as in worshipping the brazen serpent; and as undoubtedly believing that Anti-christ was begotten on the whore of Babylon, as that Pharez and Zarah were begotten on the body of Tamar. Which advantage being taken by Dr Abbot, he so violently persecuted the poor man, Laud, and so openly branded him as a papist, or at least very popishly inclined, that it was almost made a heresy, (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy to give him a civil salutation as he walked the streets."

In the mean time Dr Abbot had published in 1604, a tract, entitled, "The reasons which Dr Hall hath brought for upholding papistry unmasked," and the same year he was appointed to be one of the translators of the New Testament; the present authorized version of the Bible being commenced in 1607, and completed in 1611.

In 1608 Abbot lost his patron, the earl of Dorset, but soon after successfully paid his court to the earl of Dunbar, the ruling favourite at court, to whom he was appointed chaplain. It is indeed a curious fact that in



the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, the worldly and the profligate were frequently found to be the most zealous among the patrons of puritanism : either from a desire to see the Church overthrown, under the hope of profiting by its spoliation ; or from a mistaken notion that because puritans preach against good works, they must be prepared to defend bad works, in order to increase the merit of faith. It is very true that puritanism, by its perversion of Scripture, especially by teaching in fact the doctrine of Justification by the *feelings*, (while still retaining in words, the formula of Justification by faith,) has a tendency to demoralize the people, and to encourage bad men, whose devotional emotions are lively, to regard themselves as saints ; but still against open profligacy it has been severe. It seems indeed that worldliness, ambition, and the indulgence of the malignant passions, under certain circumstances, were scarcely accounted offences in the puritan code of morals ; and that zeal, not charity, was supposed to cover the multitude of sins : and this must have been a comfortable doctrine to the profligate among the nobility, who must also have looked upon puritanism with complacency, on account of the little regard it has to repentance ; faith or religious impressions, even on the death-bed, being considered sufficient.

As chaplain to the earl of Dunbar, Dr Abbot relinquished, for a season, his duties as master of University college and dean of Winchester, and attended the king into Scotland. As it was the desire of the king to re-establish Catholicism in Scotland, for this object lord Dunbar laboured, and the ultra-protestant principles of Dr Abbot, his chaplain, did not at this time interfere with his interests. He succeeded in obtaining certain concessions to church principles from the presbyterians, which, although they were afterwarde evaded, conciliated for Abbot the goodwill of the king ; into whose favour he further ingratiated himself, by a work he published when George Sprot, a notary of Aymouth, was executed for having been concerned in the Gowrie conspiracy.

Many persons persisted in doubting the reality of that conspiracy, and any attempt to prove that a conspiracy had really existed was sure to gratify his majesty. Abbot attended both the trial and execution of Sprot, and with a long preface of his own, published the notes of sir William Hoste, who tried the case. The worthy dean of Winchester was now on the high road to preferment, and it was no part of his puritanism to eschew, or of his low-churchism to undervalue, the temporal advantages of high station; he therefore became the flatterer of a monarch peculiarly open to flattery.

When we remember the stern but respectful independence of the primitive bishops to the rulers of this world, when we bear in mind that after Abbot had reached the highest station in the Church, he could himself act an independent part, and when we recollect the monarch to whom the words were addressed, the following extract from the preface is any thing but creditable to the character of the writer; he speaks of James as one “whose life hath been *so immaculate and unspotted in the world, so free from all touch of viciousness and staining imputations*, that even malice itself, which leaveth nothing unsearched, could never find true blemish in it, nor cast probable aspersions on it:” he says, “all must acknowledge him to be zealous as David, learned and wise, the Solomon of our age; religious as Josias, careful of spreading Christ’s faith as Constantine the Great, just as Moses, undefiled in all his ways as a Jehoshaphat or Hezekiah, full of clemency as another Theodosius.”

This kind of flattery was, indeed, the fashion of the age, but a man so severe to others as Dr Abbot, ought not to have followed the multitude in doing evil. We have seen him now sacrifice his Christian sincerity, and even lay aside for a season his low church principles; and he obtained his end: the courtly puritan became in December, 1609, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, (for thus that ancient see was designated before the Restoration, at which time it was styled Lichfield and Coventry.) He was trans-

lated to London in 1610, and on the 9th of April, 1611, he was, to the surprise and grief of all true-hearted sons of the church of England, appointed to the primacy. At this period the celebrated Andrewes was bishop of Ely, and to him, or to Overall, the eyes of the clergy were directed as the two fittest men between whom the choice lay. But it seemed fit to the Divine Head of the Church to humble his Church in England, and for a while to lay her in the dust. The spirit of evil was therefore permitted to infatuate the monarch; and under the lax rule of a man who united with an austere and repulsive temper the most latitudinarian principles, the way was prepared for that rebellion, which levelled to the earth the altar and the throne, the crown and the mitre."

"The bishop of London," says secretary Calvert, in a letter written at the time to sir Thomas Edmonds, "by a strong north wind coming out of Scotland, is blown over the Thames to Lambeth; the king having professed to the bishop himself, as also to the lords of his council, that it is neither the respect of his learning, his wisdom, nor his sincerity (although he is well persuaded there is not any one of them wanting in him,) that hath moved him to prefer him before the rest of his fellows, but merely the recommendation of his faithful servant Dunbar, that is dead, whose suit on the behalf of the bishop he cannot, and will not suffer to lose his attention." His predecessor, Bancroft, had acted with so much judgment and diligence in the controversies and discussions of these times, as to win applause even from those who were no friends to the Church. But Abbot was known to entertain very different sentiments. He had no experience as a bishop; "he was not much beloved," says Fuller, "by the inferior clergy, as over rigid and austere. Indeed, he was mounted to command in the Church before he ever learned policy therein; made a shepherd of shepherds before he was a shepherd of sheep; consecrated bishop before ever called to a pastoral charge; which made him (say some) not to sympathize with the necessities and



infirmities of poor ministers." (*Fuller's Ch. Hist. x. p. 87.*) The working clergy have, indeed, always felt it to be a grievance to have a man appointed to preside over them, as their bishop, who himself has never had a cure of souls. It is impossible for such a man to understand their difficulties, or sympathize with them in their cares; and having attended to his books rather than to the edification of souls. he is unfitted to give that ghostly counsel and advice, which the laity as well as the clergy have a right to expect from their chief pastor. Bishops ought to be men of experience, both as to the practical working of a parish, and as to the direction of souls. And it seems incongruous for a man, who has never been a parish priest himself, to give directions in his charges to a clergy, who smile among themselves to think how impracticable the directions often are. Some men by the mere force of genius can overcome such a difficulty as this, but it would be well if a rule were made that no man should be consecrated as a bishop who has not had the pastoral superintendence of a parish, for at least five years.

The observations of Fuller with reference to Abbot are borne out by the testimony of Bishop Hacket, no friend to Bancroft or Laud: who, speaking of Abbot's austerity in the High Commission Court, observes: "It was not so in his predecessor Bancroft's days, who would chide strictly, but censure mildly. He considered that he sat there rather as a father than a judge. 'Et pro peccato magno paululum supplicii satis esse putavit.' He knew that a pastoral staff was made to reduce a wandering sheep, not to knock it down." And in another place he observes: "That sentences (in that court) of great correction, or rather destruction, have their epocha from his predominancy in that court." (*Life of Williams, p. 97.*) This promotion of Abbot, carried by a party by no means favourable to the interests of the clergy, was part of that wretched policy prevailing in this and the previous reign, which attempted to neutralize the power of the Church by promoting men of opposite sentiments. "The two

contrary factions at court," says Osborne, "one of them thinking all things fit to be destroyed, the other labouring to preserve, did, upon the vacancy of every bishopric, put one in suitable to their humours that had the luck to prevail; the cause the present incumbent (Abbot) did, like the web of Penelope, unravel what his predecessor had with more policy and charity twisted. The consequence of such policy was this: that the best clergymen knew not how to proceed. They who endeavoured to promote a reconciliation were suspected by both parties; and the divisions thus promoted in the church, branched forth in the city and country into divers popular differences."

Puritanism had now become the religion of the world. The most profligate men, if they professed puritanism, were, in spite of their iniquity, described as men of "personal religion." In those days all who professed to hold the doctrine of justification by faith, (though they meant justification by the feelings,) were regarded as personally pious; and those who endeavoured, through the grace which was in them, to keep the commandments, were scouted as mere moral men, ignorant of the gospel. Notwithstanding the undoubted piety of many of the puritans, the whole country was demoralized by the doctrines they taught: and the malignity, the misrepresentations, the evil speaking, lying and slandering, which prevailed not only in conversation, but in the books and pamphlets, published and industriously circulated by the party, while it disgusted the really religious, and sent many of them to Rome, paved the way for that atheism and infidelity which came in at the restoration, and during the last century had a soul-destroying influence in our country. As Socinianism is the child of Calvinism, so is infidelity the offspring of puritanism.

At the head of the puritans within the church was Dr Abbot; he was a fautor of the pernicious doctrines of puritanism, which, in all its shapes, and with the highest pretensions, is utterly subversive of the gospel. It was at his

instigation that king James committed the error of interfering with the states-general of the United Provinces, to induce them to rescind the appointment of the Arminian Vorstius to the professorship of divinity at Leyden ; and when the celebrated Hugo Grotius came to England, the archbishop refused to accord to him that civility which so distinguished a scholar had reason to expect. The archbishop was what we should style a liberal, but his liberality was one-sided. To those opposed to him he was the reverse of liberal. As another instance we may mention his treatment of Laud. He used all his influence with lord chancellor Ellesmere, to prevent the preferment of that great man, whom he represented as a papist at heart, and cordially addicted to popery : as if Dr Abbot could know what was passing in his heart ! How awful will be the account which those poor creatures will one day have to render, who, when they cannot find cause for censure in the deeds of their opponents, assume to themselves a power of knowing their hearts !

In 1613 the archbishop solemnized the union between the princess Elizabeth and the elector Palatine, a measure which he had strongly urged, and which was highly popular with the ultra-protestant party ; and he was also, soon after, involved in the successful manœuvre, adopted by an unprincipled faction, to win the king's favour towards George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, of which he gives an account himself, claiming the chief share in the transaction.

We must here mention, however, a service rendered to the church by the archbishop, in assembling the Romish priests at that time in England, and placing in their hands the original documents of archbishop Parker's consecration, in order to satisfy them of the validity of the English ordinations. He also acted well and wisely in receiving the celebrated Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, whom he entertained with hospitality.

Having now arrived at the summit of greatness, Dr Abbot could afford to act with independence ; and he did



so. When, in 1618, the king, alarmed at the novelties of puritanism, and wishing to restore things to the state in which they were during the first years of the Reformation, published a declaration for permitting sports and pastimes on the Lord's Day, out of church hours, the archbishop would not permit it to be read at Croydon. It does not, however, appear that he suffered any inconvenience for his refusal. The strict observance of the Lord's Day, so as to make it a fast, was introduced by the puritans. The Church, before, had kept Friday as a fast, and Sunday as a religious festival; but on what authority was Sunday to be kept at all? The puritans would not admit the authority of the Church: and the Bible does not command us to keep holy the first day of the week; and yet the Bible was the only authority to which they would defer. They applied therefore to the first day, what the Bible commands as to the seventh day, and affirmed that the Bible does not refer to a particular day, but to *a* seventh day. So strong was the force of custom, that they would not change the day, as Calvin proposed, from Sunday to Thursday, but they converted the Lord's Day unto a Jewish Sabbath. But if such were their authority for observing the day, they were obliged, in order to be consistent, to observe it with Jewish strictness. It appears to have been the wish of James and his advisers to retain the Friday as the weekly fast-day, and to restore Sunday to its place as a festival, such as the first reformers observed it; to require an attendance at public worship, and then to permit people to enjoy their innocent sports. But if this were conceded, the principle of the puritans, before adverted to, would have been violated. It would in the present age be worse than folly to seek to change our mode of keeping the Lord's Day: it is one of the ordinances still respected; its strict observance is a tradition from our fathers; and if the observance of Sunday were relaxed, it does not seem likely that the fast of Friday would be generally kept. But these reasons did not exist in the reign of king James, and we must not therefore condemn

the measure which he attempted to introduce, though he failed in its introduction.

It was in the year 1616, that Laud's influence began to be felt at court, and from that time Abbot's authority had decreased, and he took more decidedly the popular side in religion and politics, and so helped on the rebellion. But all his speculations in religion and in politics were brought to a close by that event which has cast a still greater gloom over his disastrous primacy. Being on a visit to lord Zouch at Bramzil park in Hampshire, he thought proper to join in the sports of the field, notwithstanding the prohibition of many canons. Aiming at a deer with a cross-bow, he shot one of the keepers, who died on the spot. The greatest consternation prevailed, and although no further blame could attach to the archbishop than the original blame for shooting at all, he found himself without friends: the low-churchmen were grieved at the disgrace thus thrown on the leader of their party, and the moroseness of Abbot's character had prevented his contracting private friendships. The archbishop by canon law had become incapable of performing any sacred function: by the common law, his personal estate was forfeited to the king. James graciously sent him a letter under his own hand, in which he declared "that he would not add affliction to his sorrow, nor take one farthing from his chattels and moveables." But the scandal brought upon the Church was not so readily removed; it was a subject of discourse in the foreign universities, and after three several disputations, was declared by the Sorbonists to amount to a positive irregularity. To add to the difficulty, four bishops elect were waiting for their consecration—Dr Williams elect of Lincoln, Dr Davenant of Salisbury, Dr Cary of Exeter, and Dr Laud of St David's; all of whom, except Davenant, who was under personal obligations to the archbishop, scrupled to have his hands laid upon them, and declined his consecration, "not out of enmity or superstition, (says Hacket, p. 66) but to be

wary, that they might not be attainted with the contagion of his scandal and uncanonical condition."

To determine the question and settle men's minds, the king directed a commission on the 3rd of October to the lord keeper, (Williams,) the bishops of London, (Montaigne,) Winchester, (Andrewes,) and Rochester, (Buckeridge;) to the elects of Exeter, (Cary,) and St David's, (Laud;) sir Henry Hobart, lord chief justice of the common pleas; sir John Doddridge, one of the justices of the king's bench; sir Henry Martin, dean of the arches; and Dr Steward, a civilian. The three following questions were submitted to their decision.

1. *Whether the archbishop were irregular by the fact of involuntary homicide?* The two judges and two civilians held the negative; the others held that he was irregular, except bishop Andrewes, who said that he could not conclude so. 2. *Whether the act might tend to a scandal in a churchman?*—bishop Andrewes, sir H. Hobart, and Dr Steward, doubted; the rest concurred that there might arise from such an accident 'scandalum acceptum non datum.' 3. *How the archbishop should be restored, in case he should be found irregular?* All agreed that it could be no otherwise than by restitution from the king; but they dissented in the manner of its being done. Andrewes, Hobart, and Steward, thought it should be done immediately from the king, and from him alone, in the same patent with the pardon; Williams, Montaigne, Buckeridge, Cary, and Laud, wished that a commission should be directed by the king to some bishops, to absolve him 'manu clericali;' Doddridge and Martin agreed in having it done both ways for the greater caution. The latter suggestion was adopted, for the king, under his broad seal, granted the archbishop a full and entire pardon, and restored him to all metropolitcal authority; and on the 22nd of November issued a commission to the bishops of Lincoln, (Williams,) London, (Montaigne,) Winchester, (Andrewes,) Norwich, (Harsnet,) Coventry, and



Lichfield, (Morton,) Bath and Wells, (Lake,) Ely, (Felton,) Chichester, (Carleton,) to grant the archbishop a dispensation in full form ; which was done upon the 12th of Dec. following, 1621.

Thus was the archbishop absolved from this unhappy business, chiefly by the influence of Andrewes, whom he suspected for his greatest foe, though, except on the ground of his being a sound churchman, there does not appear to be any reason for his so doing. How far consistent it was with sound principles to permit the crown to usurp so much authority is very questionable. Abbot, who had retired to Guildford during the progress of these debates, now returned to Lambeth and resumed his functions, contrary to the sense of many learned and pious men, who thought that he should have spent the remainder of his days in privacy. It is said that he petitioned the king for leave to retire, but perhaps the petition was not strongly urged, and he contented himself with instituting a monthly Tuesday fast, in memory of this accident ; and allowing the widow of the man an annuity of £20. The reader will not fail to remark that the puritans in those days did not consider fasting to be unscriptural.

But though the archbishop was thus absolved, Williams and the others, still scrupled at receiving consecration from his hands ; and the king therefore permitted them (a few days before issuing the above commission) to be otherwise consecrated ; Williams in king Henry VIIIth's chapel, at Westminster, Nov, 11 ; Cary and Laud in the chapel of the bishop of London's palace, Nov. 18. The bishops who performed the ceremony were—London, (Montaigne,) Worcester, (Thornborough,) Ely, (Felton,) Oxford, (Howson,) Llandaff, (Godwin.)

In January, 1623, Abbot assisted Dr Montaigne, bishop of London, in the consecration of St James' church, Aldgate. Nor was he prepared to permit any encroachment upon his rights as primate. When, on the 20th of February, 1623-4, convocation met, and the subsidies,

which the king demanded, fell heavy upon the poorer clergy, Laud devised a plan to relieve them from the burden, which he communicated to the duke of Buckingham, who promised to procure the sanction of the king and prince. But the primate was much offended when the measure was proposed to him ; he asked bishop Laud what business it was of his to concern himself for the church ; and he told him that no bishop at any time had done the like, nor would any but himself ; that he had wounded the Church by speaking to a layman about it, in such a manner as could not be healed.

About this time the king issued a proclamation, rigidly enforcing all laws against popish recusants, and he caused letters to be addressed to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, signifying unto them, that “ no good means be neglected on their part for discovering, finding out, and apprehending of seminary piests and jesuits, and other seducers of the people to the Romish religion ; and also on the other hand he enjoined the two primates to observe that a vigilant care be taken with the rest of the clergy, for the repressing of those who, being ill affected to the true religion here established, keep more close and secret their ill affections that way, and as well by their example, as by their secret underhand contrivances, do much encourage and increase the growth of popery and superstition in different parts of this kingdom.” The archbishop of York, in obedience to the royal proclamation, sent letters to the suffragans of his province, commanding them to instruct their clergy to counteract the designs of the jesuits and their emissaries, and also to be no less watchful of the puritans, who were as indefatigable as the papists in their endeavour to subvert the reformed church, or at least to model it according to their own notions of doctrine and polity. But archbishop Abbot, in his letters to his suffragans, while he rigidly enforced the king’s command, so far as the papists were concerned, took no notice of the other part of the royal proclamation, which bore against the puritan extravagances

and heresies. So true is it, as lord Clarendon remarks of him, that "he considered the Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men most who did that most furiously, while he enquired little after the strict observance and discipline of the church." "No friend was he to the church of England, whereof he was head," says Aubrey, "but scandalously permitted that poisonous spirit of puritanism to spread all over the whole nation, by his indolence, at least, if not by his connivance and encouragement, which some years after broke out, and laid a flourishing church and state in the most miserable ruins, and which gave birth to those principles which, unless rooted out, will ever make the nation unhappy."

On the 2nd Feb. 1625-6, he crowned king Charles I. This was perhaps in some degree unfortunate; for in after times, when the factious would gladly seize upon any thing against the king's title, and when the royalists required every encouragement, it was remembered that he was crowned by an archbishop whom some still held to be irregular, notwithstanding his pardon and absolution, and whose consecration, indeed, some bishops had rejected on that ground. But though he had presided at the coronation, his growing infirmities, and probably a dislike to the prevailing party, kept him away from the court. In his narrative, (which is printed in Rushworth,) he says, "I cannot deny that the indisposition of my body kept me from court, and thereby gave occasion to maligners to traduce me, as withdrawing myself from public services, and therefore misliking some courses that were taken; which obstinacy perhaps neither pleased the king, nor the great man [Buckingham, I suppose] that set them on foot. It is true that in the turbulency of some things I had no great invitations to draw me abroad, but to possess my soul in patience, till God sent fairer weather; but the true ground of my abstaining from solemn and public places was the weakness of my feet, proceeding from the gout; which disease being hereditary unto me, and having possessed



me now nine years, had debilitated me more and more, so that I could not stand at all, neither could I go up or down a pair of stairs, but besides my staff I must have the service of one at least of my men, which was not fit to be admitted in every place where I was to come."

On the 9th October, 1627, a commission was issued to certain bishops, to execute the archiepiscopal function in the place of the archbishop. Various reasons have been assigned for the archbishop's disgrace. His general conduct, which had secured to him the favour of the puritans, had made him unacceptable to the king: the remissness of his government, as archbishop, had indeed encouraged the puritans until it seemed absolutely necessary to adopt stronger measures for enforcing the discipline of the church than the archbishop would sanction. Politicians must even then have foreseen that the state, as well as the church, was endangered by the license given to puritans within the church, and that Abbot was preparing the way for a rebellion. The proud, radical opposition to ecclesiastical authority, if encouraged, will soon display itself in the affairs of state; a puritan, while professing loyalty, is a democrat at heart. But perhaps the immediate cause of his disgrace was a refusal on his part to license a political sermon by Dr Sibthorpe. The words of the commission itself affords us no information on the subject; it merely states: "Forasmuch as the said archbishop cannot at this present in his own person attend the services which are otherwise proper for his cognizance and jurisdiction, and which as archbishop of Canterbury he might and ought in his own person to have performed and executed in causes and matters ecclesiastical, in the proper function of archbishop of that province, we therefore of our regal power, and of our princely care and providence that nothing shall be defective in the order, discipline, government, or right of the Church, have thought fit, by the service of some other learned and reverend bishops, to be named by us, to supply those things which the said archbishop ought or might in the

cases aforesaid to have done, but for this present cannot perform the same."

The suspension did not last long; for about Christmas, 1628, the archbishop was restored to favour, at the request of the house of lords. The king sent for the archbishop to court, and appointed the archbishop of York and the earl of Dorset to receive him as he came out of his barge. They conducted him to his majesty, who, giving him his hand to kiss, enjoined him to attend the council-table twice a-week; and from that time he continued to sit in parliament, and to exercise his jurisdiction till the day of his death.

The parliament which now met was a stormy one. A little before, in order to put a stop to the disturbances which arose from preaching the doctrines of predestination, the king had prefixed a royal declaration to the thirty-nine articles, prohibiting all persons, "under the degree of a bishop, and who were priests of the church of England, administering the holy sacraments, to misconstrue these articles, or pervert them from their literal and grammatical sense, to support the doctrines of Calvin, or of any individual whatever." This alarmed the low-church party. They declaimed against the declaration, as containing "the depths of Satan," and as being "a jesusitical plot to subvert the gospel;" as tending "to suppress all orthodox books," and to discourage "all godly and peaceful ministers." They drew a petition against it to the king, in which they complained that they were deterred by this restraint from preaching "those SAVING doctrines of God's free grace in election and predestination, which greatly confirm our faith of eternal salvation, and fervently kindle our love to God;" and, consequently, "that it will bring utter ruin to the state by the too bold and frequent disciples and followers of that enemy of God, Arminius." The language was so violent that the petition was never presented to his majesty.

The declaration, as might be expected, became a subject of discussion in the house of commons. Francis

Rouse, afterwards provost of Eton, and speaker of Cromwell's parliament, declaiming against Arminianism, (the nickname now given to church-principles,) exclaimed, "I desire that we may look into the belly and bowels of this Trojan horse, to see if there be not men in it ready to open the gates to Romish tyranny and Spanish monarchy, for an Arminian is *the spawn of a papist*; and if there come the warmth of favour upon him, you shall see him turn out one of those frogs which rise out of the bottomless pit." Pym declared, when the report of the committee on religion was made to the house, that there were two diseases, the one old, the other new; the old Popery, the new Arminianism," Sir Robert Philips averred, that "two sects are damnably crept in to undermine the king and kingdom; the one ancient Popery, the other new Arminianism." Sir John Elliot was not less violent, exclaiming, "in the declaration, we see what is said of popery and Arminianism; our faith and religion are in danger by them, for like an inundation, they break in upon us at once. We see there are some among our bishops who are *not orthodox*," (i. e. puritans) "nor sound in their religion as should be; witness the two bishops complained of at the last meeting of parliament. I apprehend most fear, that, should we be in their power, we may be in danger of having our religion overthrown. Some of these are masters of ceremonies, and they labour to introduce new ceremonies into the Church."

The enthusiasm of these men was quickly communicated to the whole house, and they proceeded to pass a vote against the king's declaration. "We, the commons in parliament assembled, do claim, protest and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion, which were established by parliament in the thirteenth year of our late queen Elizabeth, which, by the public act of the church of England, and by the general current exposition of the articles of our Church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of jesuits and Arminians, and *all others wherein they differ from us*." The commons thus arrogated to themselves a power which they did not legally possess, and



forced a construction on language which it would not bear. The reader, at the present time, will be interested in reading Laud's remarks on this extraordinary document.

1. "The public acts of the Church," says Laud, "in matters of doctrine are canons and acts of councils, as well for expounding as determining: the acts of the high commission are not in this sense public acts of the Church; nor the meeting of few or more bishops *extra concilium*, unless they be of lawful authority called to that work, *and their decision approved by the Church*. 2. The current exposition of writers is a strong probable argument, *de sensu canonis Ecclesiæ vel Articuli*, yet but probable: the current exposition of the fathers themselves hath sometimes missed *sensum Ecclesiæ*. 3. Will you reject *all* sense of jesuits and Arminians? May not *some* be true? May not *some* be agreeable to our writers, and yet in a way that is stronger than ours to confirm the article. 4. Is there by this act any interpretation made or declared of the articles, or not? If none, to what end the act? If a sense or interpretation be declared, what authority have laymen to make it? for interpretation of an article belongs to them only that have power to make it. 5. It is manifest there is a sense declared by the house of commons. The act says, We avow the article, and in that sense, and all others that agree not with us in the aforesaid sense we reject, (these and these go about misinterpretation of a sense; *ergo*, there is a declaration of a sense, yea, but it is not a new sense declared by them, but they avow the old sense declared by the Church, the public authentic acts of the Church, &c.) yea, but there be no such public authentic acts of the Church, then here is a sense of their own declared under the pretexts of it. 6. It seems against the king's declaration; that says *first*, we shall take the general meaning of the article: this act restrains them to consent of writers; that says *second*, the article shall not be drawn aside any way, but that we shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense: this act ties us to consent of writers, which may, and perhaps do, go against the

literal sense; for here is no exception, so we shall be perplexed, and our consent required to things contrary.

5. *All consent in all ages, as far as I have observed, to an article or canon, is to itself as it is laid down in the body of it; and if it bear more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense secundum analogiam fidei and that he hold it peaceably, without distracting the Church, and this till the Church that made the article determine a sense: and the wisdom of the Church hath been in all ages, or in most, to require consent to articles in general, as much as may be, because that is the way of unity; and the Church, in high points, requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent, as, De Transubstantiatione," &c.*

Such was the condition in which Abbot left the church of England. His age had increased his remissness; his house resembled a conventicle rather than the residence of a bishop: the bishops were permitted to live at ease away from their dioceses; and itinerant lecturers were tolerated, who went from place to place, professedly zealous for the Church, but in fact undermining every church-principle. "They were strict Calvinists," says Neal, the puritan historian, "warm and affectionate preachers, and distinguished themselves by a religious observance of the Lord's day, by a bold opposition to popery and the new ceremonies, and by an uncommon severity of life." This affectation of piety and austerity, as Heylin remarks, "excited the applause of the ignorant multitude, who were delighted to hear the regular clergy reviled by those itinerant preachers; and to crown all, they were openly patronized by Abbot, who, whether from conviction, or some other cause, thought that they, and only they, had the protestant religion at heart, and could fortify their hearers against a return to popery."

Others of the clergy followed their example; the vicar of Ware, declared in his sermon, that "idolatry was admitted into the Church, that the preaching of the gospel would be suppressed, that there is much atheism, popery,

and heresy crept into the Church." Here, in passing, we may observe on the extreme wickedness of that man, who holds that the Bible, and the Bible only, interpreted by each man's private judgment, is his religion, when he calls another a heretic. The private judgment of one man is as much entitled to respect, and is quite as likely to be orthodox, as that of another. A heretic is a man who holds to his private judgment, when that judgment is opposed to the decision of the Church ; as for example, when a man, contrary to the decisions of the Church, separates regeneration from baptism, or denies the grace of the sacraments. But if we deny the authority of the Church, and assert that each man's private judgment is to guide him in his interpretation of Scripture, then to call a man a heretic, because his private judgment differs from our own, is to be guilty of an intolerance which argues the entire absence of Christian charity from the heart. A man may be guilty of some other offences, but he cannot be a heretic, even if he holds a wrong opinion, if he be ready to submit his private judgment to the Church, whenever the decision of the Church is clearly made known to him ; for by a heretic, in ecclesiastical language, is meant a person who refuses so to do. A puritan means by a heretic, every one who differs in opinion from himself ; but this is an abuse of terms. The puritans, however, were not very choice in their use of terms, often offending equally against reason and charity in this respect. They not only called their opponents by the general term heretics, but they nicknamed them Arminians, because they knew that catholic Christians eschew every title but that of catholic and Christian : they styled them dumb dogs, and described the bishops as men of blood, and followers of antichrist.

In order to meet these evils, certain orders were issued by the king to the archbishop, to be put in execution by the several bishops of his province ; the object of which was to enforce the discipline of the Church. But archbishop Abbot was not desirous of suppressing the irregularities of the lecturers ; and though he was obliged to communicate



the instructions he received to his suffragan bishops, he did so only in an official manner, while in private he contrived to patronize the puritans. In accordance with the official instructions he had received from the metropolitan, Dr Kingsley, archdeacon of Canterbury, suspended two preachers, for refusing to read prayers or wear the surplice, and for preaching seditious sermons; but the archbishop not only authorised them to resume their lectureships, but prohibited the archdeacon from taking cognizance of their offence.

Such measures, on the part of the archbishop, were indefensible: but though his conduct was reported to the court, it was passed over in silence; in pity, perhaps, for his increasing infirmities, and because, in the ordinary course of nature, his unhappy primacy was now nearly at an end. He died on the 4th of August, in the year 1633, at Croydon, when he was in his 72nd year. He was buried, according to his own desire, in the lady chapel of Trinity church, at Guildford, in Surrey. Soon after his death, a monument was erected over his grave with his effigy, and a Latin inscription engraved over his tomb.

Besides building the hospital at Guildford he gave to the schools in Oxford £150. In 1619, he bestowed a large sum of money on the library of Baliol college, for augmenting the number of the books and repairing the building; and built a conduit in the city of Canterbury. In 1624, he contributed to the founding of Pembroke college, and discharged a debt of £300, owing to that society from Baliol college. In 1632, he gave £100 to the library of University college; and by his will, left to the town of Guildford £100, to be lent without interest to four poor tradesmen of that town, for two or three years. To the poor of the town he left £20; to the poor of Lambeth, £30; to forty of his inferior servants, £10 each; besides £40 for those who had served him, in case he had forgotten them. All the books in his great study marked with his name, to his successors for ever; those at Croydon, partly to the dean and chapter of Winchester, partly to

the dean and chapter of Canterbury. (See his will, printed at the end of his Life, in 8vo.)

Like many prelates of his day he was never married. For many years after the reformation there was a prejudice against the marriage of the higher clergy. He was extremely offended with his brother for having married after he had become a bishop.

The character of the archbishop is thus given by those who knew him best. Fuller, in his Church history, says, "that he forsook the birds of his own feather to fly with others, generally favouring the laity more than the clergy, in causes that were brought before him." The earl of Clarendon speaks of him thus: "Abbot considered the Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men most who did that most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity of the articles or canons established, he made little enquiry and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin; and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private judgment be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him: and though many other bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily broke in, to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles: and though the bishop of London, (Dr Laud) from the time of his authority and credit with the king, had applied all the remedies he could to those defections, and from the time of his being chancellor of Oxford had much discountenanced and almost suppressed that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that

university, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the church of England; yet that temper in the archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a church into order, that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak, and more wilful churchmen—" His works are—

1. Six Latin lectures on Divinity, at Oxford, 1598, 4to.
2. Exposition of the Prophet Jonah, 4to. 1600.
3. Answer to the questions of the citizens of London, concerning Cheapside cross, 4to. 1641
4. Translation of part of the New Testament in the present version of the Bible.
5. Sermon at the funeral of Thomas earl of Dorset, 4to.
6. A brief description of the whole World, 12mo. 1634.
7. Treatise of the perpetual visibility and succession of the true Church, 4to. 1624.
8. A Narrative of the true cause of his sequestration and disgrace at Court, written in 1627. This is printed in Rushworth's Collections.
9. History of the massacre in the Valtoline, printed in the third volume of Fox's Acts and Monuments.
10. Judgment of the archbishop concerning bowing at the Name of Jesus, printed at Hamburgh in 1632, 8vo. Besides these pieces, many of his letters and speeches are to be found in various collections.

*Wood's Athenæ. Collier. Heylin's Life of Laud. Fuller. Biog. Brit. Hacket's Life of Williams, together with the contemporary historians and annalists.*

ABBOT, ROBERT, was the elder brother of George, archbishop of Canterbury. He was born at Guildford in 1560, and proceeded from the free school in that town to Baliol college, Oxford, in 1575, where he took his master's degree in 1582, and having received holy orders, became a popular preacher. He was for some time the lecturer at St Martin's church, Oxford, and at Abingdon, in Berkshire. His popularity as a preacher was such, that on preaching a sermon in Worcester he was elected



lecturer of that city, and in 1588 was appointed to the rectory of All Saints. About the same time, or shortly after, his eloquence at St Paul's cross so fascinated John Stanhope, Esq. that by him he was presented to the rich benefice of Bingham, in Nottinghamshire. In 1594 he published a book against a Romanist, entitled "The mirror of popish subtilties;" and in 1597 he took his degree of D.D. On the accession of James I. he was appointed chaplain to his majesty. The king was so much pleased with a work of Abbot's, entitled "*Antichristi demonstratio contra fabulas pontificias et ineptam Rob. Bellarmini de Antichristo disputationem*," that he had his own commentary on the Apocalypse bound up with it. In 1606 he published his "Defence of the reformed Catholic of Mr William Perkins lately deceased, against Dr Bishop, seminary priest," of which the second part appeared in 1607, and the third in 1609; in the latter year he was elected master of Baliol college, which, by his learning and his example, was raised to great distinction in the university. It is recorded of him that he never absented himself from college chapel morning or evening, though the mornings were never so dark or the season never so bitter. This would be little to say of a sound churchman: but in a puritan and a Calvinist it was a triumph of personal religion over principles which would have led him to slight a place of worship when only prayers were said, and on any other day than Sunday. Indeed we shall have occasion to remark, towards the close of his life, that Robert Abbot was in many things better than his party and their principles.

Abbot's character is generally reported to have been the reverse of his brother's, the moroseness of the archbishop being tempered by the kindly disposition of Robert; yet, as vice-chancellor of Oxford, his conduct was both unbecoming and unjust. Through the influence of his brother, preferments had been heaped upon him. In 1610 he was made prebendary of Normanton, in the church of Southwell, having been appointed also one of the fellows of

Chelsea college, then newly founded as a school for controversial divinity; and in 1611 he became regius professor of divinity in Oxford. Although his Calvinism was less obtrusive than that of his two predecessors in office, yet he was a violent party man, and, to please his brother, was hurried into conduct which cannot be too strongly censured. Our readers will be surprised to hear that as vice-chancellor he actually suspended Dr Howson, a grave and reverend divine, one of the canons of Christ Church, who had himself been vice-chancellor of the university, for this notable reason,—that in preaching at St Mary's he took occasion to speak of the Geneva (Calvinistic) notes on the Bible, accusing them as guilty of misrepresentation touching the divinity of our blessed Lord and His office as Messiah, as if symbolizing with the Arians and Jews against them both. Whereupon he was suspended by Dr Abbot, “for some public sermons being less orthodox than they ought to have been.” This was rather a strong measure, but he was not contented with one victim. Dr Corbet, preaching the passion sermon at Christ Church, anno 1613, insisted on the article of Christ's descent into hell, and therein grated upon Calvin's manifest perverting of the true sense and meaning of it; for which he was so rattled up by the repetition, not without Abbot's setting on, as it was generally conceived, that if he had not been a man of very great courage it might have made him ashamed of staying in the university. So dangerous a thing was it to touch at any thing in which Geneva was concerned.” One cannot wonder at the rebellion which soon after took place, when heresies so grievous were so violently maintained at the university, and the religion adapted only for a republican supported.

Dr Abbot's next service to his brother, to whom indeed he owed every thing, was an attack on the celebrated William Laud. The mode of proceeding is thus described by Heylin :

“It happened that Laud, preaching on Shrove-sunday, anno 1614, insisted on some points which might indifferently be imputed either to popery or Arminianism, (as about that time they began to call it) though in themselves they were no other than the true and genuine doctrines of the church of England; and having occasion in that sermon to touch upon the presbyterians and their proceedings, he used some words to this effect, viz. that the presbyterians were as bad as the papists; which being so directly contrary to the judgment and opinion of this Dr Abbot, and knowing how much Laud had been distasted by his brother when he lived in Oxon, conceived he could not better satisfy himself, and oblige his brother the archbishop, than by exposing him (on the next occasion) both to shame and censure, which he did accordingly; for being vice-chancellor for the year, and preaching at St Peter’s upon Easter-day in the afternoon, he pointed at him so directly that none of the auditors were so ignorant as not to know at whom he aimed. Laud not being present at the first preaching of the sermon, was by his friends persuaded to shew himself at St Mary’s on the Sunday after, when it should come to be repeated, (according to the ancient custom of that university) to whose persuasions giving an unwilling consent, he heard himself sufficiently abused for almost an hour together, and that so palpably and grossly that he was pointed to as he sate; some of the passages of which sermon I shall here subjoin, because howsoever they might bring to him [Laud] some present and personal disgrace, yet they redounded at the last to the great good and benefit of the university.

“Some (said the doctor in his sermon) are partly Romish partly English, as occasion served them, that a man might say unto them, *Noster es, an adversariorum?* who under pretence of truth, and preaching against the puritan, strike at the heart and root of the faith and religion now established amongst us, &c. That they cannot plead they are accounted papists, because they speak against the puritan, but because, being indeed papists, they speak



nothing against them; if they do at any time speak against the papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it: they speak nothing but that wherein one papist will speak against another; as against equivocation, and the pope's temporal authority, and the like; and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches: but in the points of free-will, justification, concupiscence being a sin after baptism, inherent righteousness, and certainty of salvation, the papists beyond the seas can say they are wholly theirs, and the recusants at home make their brags of them. And in all things they keep themselves so near the brink, that upon any occasion they may step over to them. Now for this speech, that the presbyterians are as bad as the papists, there is a sting in the speech, which I wish had been left out, for there are many churches beyond the seas which contend for the religion established amongst us, and yet have approved and admitted the presbytery, &c.

“After which, having spoken somewhat in justification of presbyteries, he proceeded thus:

“Might not Christ say, (saith he) what art thou, Romish or English? papist or protestant? or what art thou? a mongrel or compound of both: a protestant by ordination, a papist in point of free-will, inherent righteousness, and the like. A protestant in receiving the sacrament, a papist in the doctrine of the sacrament? What, do you think there are two heavens? if there be, get you to the other, and place yourselves there, for into this where I am ye shall not come.”

Whatever may have been the truth of this assertion, the quotation does not impress one with an idea of the Christian temper or gentlemanlike feeling of the vice-chancellor. But censures, the effect of party violence, are seldom injurious to the persons persecuted. The government could be just, though the vice-chancellor was the reverse, and Dr Howson, who had been suspended, became bishop of Oxford, in which see he was succeeded by Dr Corbet.

and Dr Laud received the crown of martyrdom, at the hands of the puritans, as archbishop of Canterbury. The reader will be probably interested with the account of the university of Oxford at this period, which is given us by Heylin in his life of archbishop Laud.

Know then, that Mr Lawrence Humphrey, one of the fellows of Magdalen college, being deprived of his fellowship there in queen Mary's time, betook himself to the city of Zurich, a city of chiefest note amongst the Switzers, remarkable for the preachings and death of Zuinglius; from whence, and from the correspondence which he had at Geneva, he brought back with him at his returning into England on queen Mary's death, so much of the Calvinian both in doctrine and in discipline, that the best that could be said of him, by one who commonly speaks favourably of all that party is, that he was a moderate and conscientious nonconformist. Immediately on his return he was by queen Elizabeth made president of Magdalen college, and found to be the fittest man (as certainly he was a man of very good parts, and the master of a pure Latin style) for governing the divinity chair, as her majesty's professor in that faculty; in which he continued till the year 1596, and for a great part of that time was vice-chancellor also. By which advantages he did not only stock his college with such a generation of nonconformists as could not be wormed out in many years after his decease; but sowed in the divinity schools such seeds of Calvinism, and laboured to create in the younger students such a strong hate against the papists, as if nothing but divine truths were to be found in the one, and nothing but abominations to be seen in the other. And though Dr John Holland, rector of Exeter college, who succeeded Humphries in the chair, came to it better principled than his predecessor, yet did he suffer himself to be borne away by the violent current of the times, contrary in some cases to his own opinion.

“And yet as zealous as Dr Humphries shewed himself

against the papists (insomuch as he got the title of a papisto mastyx) he was not thought, though seconded by the lady Margaret's professor for that university, to make the distance wide enough betwixt the churches. A new lecture therefore must be founded by sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of state, a man of great abilities in the schools of policy, an extreme hater of the popes and church of Rome, and no less favourable unto those of the puritan faction. The design was to make the religion of the church of Rome more odious, and the differences betwixt them and the protestants to appear more irreconcilable than before they did. And that he might not fail of his purpose in it, the reading of this lecture was committed to Dr John Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi college, a man of infinite reading, and as vast a memory; who having lived sometimes in one of our English seminaries beyond the seas, declared himself a professed papist, and as eager in the pursuit of that way, as any other whatsoever; but being regained unto this church by his brother William, who lost himself in the encounter, he thought he could not sufficiently express his detestation of the errors and corruptions in the church of Rome, but by running to the other extreme, and making himself considerable amongst the puritans. On which account, as he became very gracious to sir Francis Walsingham, so was he quickly made the spiritual head of the puritan faction; in which capacity he managed their business for them in the conference at Hampton Court, anno 1603, where he appeared the principal if not only speaker, the other three (that is to say, Spark, Chadderton, and Knewstubs) serving no otherwise than as mutes and cyphers to make up the mess.

“By the power and practices of these men, the disposition of those times, and the long continuance of the unprincipled earl of Leicester (the principal patron of that faction) in the place of chancellor, the face of that university was so much altered, that there was little to be seen in it of the church of England, according to the principles and positions upon



which it was at first reformed. All the Calvinian rigors, in matters of predestination, and the points depending thereupon, received as the established doctrines of the church of England; the necessity of the one sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the powerful efficacy of both unto man's salvation, not only disputed, but denied; the article of Christ's local descent into hell, so positively asserted in two convocations, anno 1552, and 1562, at first corrupted with false glosses, afterwards openly contradicted, and at last totally disclaimed, because repugnant to the fancies of some foreign divines, though they at odds amongst themselves in the meaning of it; episcopacy maintained by halves, not as a distinct order from that of the presbyters, but only a degree above them, or perhaps not that, for fear of giving scandal to the churches of Calvin's platform; the church of Rome inveighed against as the whore of Babylon, or the mother of abominations; the pope as publicly maintained to be antichrist, or the man of sin, and that as positively and magisterially as if it had been one of the chief articles of the Christian faith; and then, for fear of having any good thoughts for either, the visibility of the church must be no otherwise maintained, than by looking for it in the scattered conventicles of the Berengarians in Italy, the Albigenses in France, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Wickliffites among ourselves. Nor was there any greater care taken for the forms and orders of this church, than there had been for points of doctrine; the surplice so disused in officiating the divine service of the church, and the divine service of the church so slubbered over in most of the colleges, that the prelates and clergy assembled in convocation, anno 1603, were necessitated to frame two canons, that is to say, canons 16, 17, to bring them back again to the ancient practice; *particularly the bowing at the name of Jesus*, commanded by the injunctions of queen Elizabeth, anno 1559, and used in most churches of the kingdom, so much neglected and decried, that

Airy, provost of Queen's college, writ a tract against it; the habits of the priests, by which they were to be distinguished from other men, (not only by the queen's injunctions, but also by some following canons made in convocation) so much despised, and laid aside, that Dr Reynolds had the confidence to appear in the conference at Hampton court in his Turkey gown, and therefore may be thought to have worn no other in the university: and in a word, the books of Calvin made the rule by which all men were to square their writings, his only word (like the *ipse dixit* of Pythagoras) admitted for the sole canon to which they were to frame and conform their judgments, and in comparison of whom the ancient fathers of the church (men of renown, and the glories of their several times) must be held contemptible; and to offend against this canon, or to break this rule, esteemed a more unpardonable crime than to violate the apostles' canons, or dispute the doctrines and determinations of any of the four first general councils; so as it might have proved more safe for any man, in such a general deviation from the rules and dictates of this church, to have been looked upon as an heathen or publican, than an anti-calvinist."

God grant that to such a state of things the university may never be brought again! But such *was* the state of the university just before the great rebellion, which seemed to come as a necessary punishment upon this sinful church and nation. In this state of things, and as successor to such men, we find some palliation for the conduct of Dr Robert Abbot; who, in 1615, received the reward of his party zeal in the university, being consecrated by his brother to the see of Salisbury. The king was disposed to nominate to the bishopric the celebrated Dr Field, dean of Gloucester, but the archbishop and his partizans prevailed in obtaining the vacant see for Dr Abbot. As a bishop he was both active and judicious; and compelled the dean and chapter, who con-

sumed what ought to have been expended for the repairs of their cathedral and the sustentation of its services, in building their own houses and enriching themselves, to provide him with a sufficient sum of money by which he restored that splendid edifice. His hospitality was great, and that not only to the rich; for he was accustomed to entertain the poor, and especially at the great festival of Christmas, when he gave a dinner to all the poor in Salisbury.

He died on the second of March, 1617, from a severe attack of the stone, though his death was hastened by the grief he experienced from the resentment of his brother, the archbishop, who was extremely indignant at his having married a second wife about two years before. Against the marriage of the clergy there still lingered a prejudice, from which even archbishop Abbot was not exempt.

The principal of his works are—1. *Antichristi demonstratio*, 4to. 1603. 2. *Defence of the reformed catholic* of William Perkins, against Dr William Bishop, 4to. 1606, 1609. 3. *The old way*, a sermon, 4to. 1610. 4. *Antilogia; adversus apologiam Andreæ Eudemon-Johannis Jesuitæ pro Henrico Garnetto*, 4to. 1613. 5. *De gratiâ et perseverentiâ Sanctorum*, 4to. 1618. 6. *De amissione et intercessionem justificationis et gratiæ*, 4to. 1618. 7. *De suprema potestate regia*, 4to. 1619.—*Life by Dr Featley, in Fuller's Abel Redivivus. Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis. Biog. Brit. Heylin's Life of Laud.*

ABDAS, a Persian bishop, who flourished about the year 430. He obtained permission of Idegardes, king of Persia, to preach the gospel among his people, being consecrated in Persia by Marathas, bishop of Mesopotamia. Abdas, and the missionaries under him, pursued their labours unmolested during the life of Idegardes. But, in the reign of Veranes V., Abdas permitted his zeal to outstrip his discretion, and he set fire to one of the heathen temples.



The magi complained to the king. The king, with unusual clemency, merely reprimanded the bishop, and commanded him to rebuild the temple. The bishop refused to obey, and he fell a victim to his indiscretion. The people destroyed all the churches of the Christians, against whom a violent persecution commenced. Nor was this all, at the solicitation of the Christians, a war against the Persian monarch was undertaken, which raged for thirty years.—*Theodoret. Socrates. Alban Butler.*

ABELARD, PETER, a man distinguished equally for his immoralities and his genius, was born in the village of Palais, four leagues from Nantes, in Brittany, in 1079. Having received his primary education in Brittany, after his studying under the celebrated Roscelin, he finished his studies in the university of Paris, where he had for his tutor, in logic and scholastic philosophy, William de Champeaux, at that time archdeacon of Paris, and afterwards bishop of Chalons-sur-Maine. After profiting by the instructions of his master, the ungrateful pupil exercised his wit in turning him into ridicule, and forming a party against him. His fellow students, however, or the greater part of them, were dutiful to their professor, and the witty but unprincipled Abelard found it expedient, at the age of twenty-two, to quit Paris. From Paris he went to Melun, and afterwards to Corbeil, where he was as strongly opposed by one party, as he was supported by another; and in his zeal to maintain his cause, he studied so deeply as to injure his health, and to render it necessary for him to visit his native place. He there found it good policy to become reconciled to his insulted master; and returning to Paris, at the end of two years, he opened a school of rhetoric, to which, by the splendour of his talents, he soon attracted the youth of the university. His success induced him to add to this faculty, philosophy and theology, and he gathered around him, in a short space of time, three thousand students. Nor

were his students confined to persons of his own sex : his matchless eloquence attracted the attention of the ladies, and he has spoken of his gallantries with the unblushing fervour of a profligate. At length his affections were centered upon Heloisa, the niece of Fulbert, a canon of Paris, whom, at the age of seventeen, when he himself was thirty-nine, he seduced. A more atrocious case of deliberate seduction is not upon record ; for he so effectually and successfully corrupted her mind, that when marriage was proposed, she preferred to remain his mistress. No one can refer to the history of those times without perceiving how the constrained celibacy of the clergy, (whether the constraint be imposed by ecclesiastical rule, or popular opinion,) must tend to the demoralization both of the clergy and of the laity. Heloisa thought it a disgrace to Abelard, as an ecclesiastic, and even to herself, to be called his wife ; but she felt that she would every where be received with honour, if she were known to be the concubine of a person so distinguished. Concubinage was considered more honourable in a priest than marriage : and marriage would have excluded Abelard from the high preferments of the church, concubinage would not. At length, however, by the command of Fulbert, Abelard and Heloisa were secretly married. As, after this, she was severely treated by her uncle, Abelard removed her to the convent of Argenteuil ; when, by Fulbert and other relations of Heloisa, that vengeance was inflicted upon Abelard which for ever separated the guilty couple. Abelard retired to the abbey of St Denis, Heloisa embraced the religious life in the convent of Argenteuil.

But instead of leading a life of penitence, when the reign of passion was over, Abelard permitted ambition to re-assert its dominion in his breast, and he appeared once more as a professor. It is not surprising that such a person in attempting theology, should fall into error : and his treatise on the Holy Trinity was condemned as heretical, and consigned to the flames, by a provincial council.

Mortified by this, he left St Denis, and retired to the vicinity of Nogent-sur-Seine, where he erected an oratory, and dedicated it to the Paraclete. He was again charged with heresy, but on this occasion he seems to have vindicated himself; although it does not appear to have struck him that one, whose crimes had been so notorious, and of which he had scarcely expressed any repentance, ought not to have thrust himself forward as a teacher of that theology, to the first principles of which his conduct was opposed. He again sought for peace by change of place. He established Heloisa and her nuns at the Paraclete, and himself became Abbot of St Gildas, in Brittany. But here the dissipated Abelard only sighed for the brilliant and literary society of Paris. He attempted a severe discipline in this monastery, but the monks regarded him as a hypocrite, and are said to have tried to poison him. It was not probable that such a man as Abelard would be appointed to preside over a strict and religious monastery; and while he corresponded with Heloisa, he neglected all the ordinances of the church. Again, and most justly, was he accused of heresy. He was accused of asserting that the mysteries of faith are subject to reason; that there are degrees in the Trinity, and that the Holy Ghost is not consubstantial with the Father and the Son; on the person of Christ he agreed with the Nestorians; and also concurred with the Pelagians in the opinion that His death was not the price of our redemption, but that He was only an example of patience, perseverance, charity, and virtue. He maintained that the devil never had power over man. So great was his influence, that the illustrious St Bernard, the last of the fathers, undertook to prosecute him in 1140, before the archbishop of Sens. His propositions were condemned, but nothing was decided as to his person; until, by pope Innocent II, his book was ordered to be burnt, and Abelard himself was directed to be confined in a monastery, and never again to teach. Abelard upon this set out for Rome, with the intention, it seems, of plead-



ing his cause before the pope himself. But on his journey, he visited the celebrated monastery of Clugni, and excited the commiseration of its superior, Peter the venerable. By this pious man Abelard was convinced of his errors, and he became an humble penitent. He recanted and was absolved. He offered, if he had written any thing contrary to the orthodox faith, to strike it out of his writings. St Bernard, with that true Christian spirit by which he was ever animated, melted by the view of his penitence, visited him, and treated him with pity, respect, and affection. Peter the venerable states, that he was often surprised at the self-abasement and self-renunciation of one who had been so distinguished by fame. His prayers, his silence, his fasting, made a deep impression upon those who had intercourse with him, and the monks of Clugni were witnesses of the piety and orthodoxy with which he recited the creed, and then his confession of sins; and all, says Peter, can testify that, with the devotion of a longing heart, he received the Body of our Redeemer for a preparation for eternity, committing to Him his body and soul, in full faith, now and for ever.

Having removed for the sake of his health to St Marcel, near Chalons-sur-Saône, he died a penitent, in 1142. The name of Abelard is referred to by the licentious for his amours, by the Neologist for his free-thinking, by the Christian for his penitence.—See the Life of St Bernard.

Before we conclude this article, we think it may be interesting to the reader to see how enlightened a nun of the 12th century could be on the subject of things indifferent. Writing to Abelard about the rule for her convert, Heloisa remarks, that even St Benedict had wisely modelled his rule according to the circumstance of the times and the dispositions of his subjects. What then would he not have done, had he been employed to give laws to the weaker sex?

“For this sex, she thinks, it would be enough, not to aim, in their religious institutes, at a higher perfection

than what is practised by the ministers of the church ; even it would be well, could they emulate the virtues of the pious laity. ‘Would to God, she goes on, we were only able, by our best exertions, to fulfil the gospel precepts, and not to surpass them ; that we did not aspire to be more than Christians !’ From the greater sobriety of women, which arises, Heloisa remarks, from the nature of their constitutions, she draws an argument to prove, that they should be under no restriction in the use of what they may chuse to eat or drink. The world, she says, is visibly grown old, and its inhabitants possess no longer that strength of texture which belonged to their progenitors : rules, therefore, which were enacted for the good of man, should vary as he varies. Owing to this observation, she says, it was, that St Benedict indulged his monks with the use of wine. ‘At all events,’ continues she, ‘why be solicitous about things which are so indifferent in themselves ; which the sinner and the saint may equally practice. Let sin be prohibited ; but let us have every other indulgence possible.’ She proceeds to discuss the nature of external observances, which she treats as things of no value. Virtue alone, she says, has merit before heaven ; the true Christian is solely occupied in perfecting his moral character ; it is from the will that evil flows, and not from what is external to it.”

The reader will be also interested in knowing, that the same zeal against the introduction of novelties into the church prevailed then as now. Abelard charges St Bernard with being an innovator. Having defended himself against some charges, he proceeds : “And is it not this same reason, of which you yourselves are so vehemently enamoured, as to dare to support it against the universal practice of the Church ? You are but men of yesterday : yet glorying in the novelty of your order, you have made decrees, by which the Divine service is to be performed among you, differently from the ancient, and all the modern, usages of monks and churchmen. Nor in this

do you deem yourselves reprehensible. It may be a singularity, or a deviation from antiquity, you allow ; but it accords with reason and the tenor of your institute ; and while this is so, little do you value the astonishment, or the murmurs, of discontented spectators. He enumerates a long list of the peculiarities observed by the Cistercian monks in their church service, which he treats as absurdities, or at least, as puerile singularities ; to which, however, they profess the warmest attachment, and in which he is not disposed to give them the smallest disturbance. Variation, he observes, has ever been allowed in language and in general discipline ; and he instances many practices which then prevailed, all which were permitted, provided only the sacred integrity of faith were not violated. It is here that unity must be fixed. This variety, he thinks, in the modes of worshipping our Maker, has its advantages ; and that too servile an uniformity may sometimes generate disgust. For this, in part, it was that the religion of Christ was preached in the languages of all nations ; and he himself delivered the prayer in question, in two distinct forms, that different dispositions might find their satisfaction in them : but let us repeat it, says he, in the exact words of its august Founder. He concludes : ‘ Let each one, as I said before, be guided by his own judgment, and pray as he likes it best. I advise no one to follow me ; he may vary the words of Christ at will : but it shall be my endeavour to keep them, and their genuine sense, as unchanged as may be.’—*Berington's History of Abelard and Helosia. Neander's Life of St. Bernard. Spanheim, Mosheim.*

ABLE, or ABEL, THOMAS ; a learned divine of the church of England, who was educated at Oxford. He took his degree of B.A. July 4th, 1513, and that of M.A. June 27th, 1516, and afterwards became doctor in divinity. He was a man of learning, skill'd in music, and a great linguist. He became domestic chaplain to queen Katharine,



and through her received the living of Bradwell juxta mare, in Essex. When the profligate Henry sought to divorce his wife, that he might marry Anne Bolleyn, Dr Able engaged manfully in the controversy on the queen's side. He published a tract, "*De non dissolvendo Henrici et Catherinæ matrimonio*;" and perhaps some other works on the same side are to be attributed to him. In 1534 he was prosecuted for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton; and being one of those who resolutely denied the king's supremacy, he was imprisoned, and afterwards, on the 30th of July, 1540, hanged, drawn, and quartered at Smithfield.—*Biog. Brit. Turner. Dod's Church History. Wood's Athenæ.*

ABUCARA, THEODORUS, a bishop of Caræ in the 8th century, who wrote many treatises, of which forty-three have been printed, and many others still exist in manuscript. They are directed against the Jews, Mahometans, and heretics. The printed works of Abucara are to be found in the supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

ABULFARAGIUS, GREGORY, a learned prelate of the Jacobites, was born at Malatia, in Armenia, in 1226. He was ordained to the priesthood at the early age of twenty. In 1247 he was promoted to the bishopric of Lacabena, from whence he removed, some years afterwards, to Aleppo, and about the year 1266 was elected primate of the Jacobites. He died in 1286. Abulfaragius wrote several books; but that by which he was best known is an universal history, published by Dr Pococke, with a Latin translation, at Oxford, in 1663, 2 vols 4to.—*Cave, Hist. Lit. D'Herbelot. Gen. Biog. Dict.*

ACACIUS, (surnamed MONOPHTHALMUS,) from his having but one eye, was the disciple and successor of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea. He was deposed by the council of Sardica, for semi-arian opinions. He wrote the life of

Eusebius, which is lost, together with all his other works, except the fragment of one against Marcellus, which is found in Epiphanius. (See the Life of Athanasius.) He died in 365.—*Cave. Moreri.*

ACACIUS, a patriarch of Constantinople, who succeeded Gennedius, in 471. He was so strongly opposed to the supremacy of Rome, that being excommunicated by pope Felix, he defied his power, and erased his name in return from the diptychs. He died in 488. Two of his epistles are extant.—*Cave, Hist. Lit.*

ACACIUS, bishop of Berœa, in Syria, was a member of the council of Constantinople, held in the year 381. He shone in several disputes, but is disgraced by having become the persecutor of his former friend St Chrysostom. At the age of one hundred and ten he wrote a letter to Theodosius the younger, advising him to confirm the sentence passed upon Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who had been deposed by a synod of schismatics. He died in 432.—*Dupin. Moreri.*

ACACIUS, bishop of Amida, or Constance, on the Tigris, in Mesopotamia, is celebrated for an extraordinary act of charity. During the war between Theodosius the Younger and Varanes king of Persia, the bishop, pitying the unfortunate state of the prisoners, sold the sacred vessels of his church, and with the money purchased the liberty of 7000 Persian captives, and sent them to their native country. This appeared so extraordinary to the king of Persia, that he desired to see the truly Christian prelate, who accordingly paid him a visit, and thereby effected a peace between the two monarchs,—*Moreri.*

ACCA, bishop of Hagulstadt, or Hexham, in Northumberland; the church of which, according to Bede, he enlarged, and made it a beautiful structure. He succeeded St Wilfrid in that see in the year 709. He was an Anglo-

Saxon by birth, and had his education under the most holy prelate, Bosa, bishop of York, and from thence was taken under the patronage of Wilfrid, whom he accompanied to Rome. Here he learned many things concerning ecclesiastical usage and discipline, which Bede says it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country ; some of which things would have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance ; such, for instance, as the erection of more altars than one in a church, and the veneration of relics. But he cannot be too much praised for his zeal in adorning his church, and supplying it with plate and holy vestments. He collected a valuable library, and was much skilled in church music. He selected able musicians for his choir, and revived the use of anthems. He composed several works ; and after presiding over the see of Hexham twenty-four years, he died in 740.—*Churton's early English Church. Bed. lib. v. c. 20.*

ACCOLTI, PETER, son of Benedetto Accolti, was born at Florence, in 1455. He studied law, and became a professor ; but afterwards entered into holy orders, and was raised first to the bishopric of Ancona, and next to the dignity of cardinal. He was a pluralist, holding seven bishoprics at the same time. He filled, at different times, the offices of cardinal vicar of Rome, and apostolic legate in the army against France. He died at Rome, in 1532. The cardinal of Ancona, as he was called, wrote the papal bull against Luther. Benedict Accolti, his natural son, was executed, in 1564, for a conspiracy against pope Pius IV.—*Biog. Univ.*

ACESIUS, a Novatian bishop. When the Nicene creed had been published by the council of Nice, the emperor Constantine enquired of Acesius whether he held the orthodox doctrine, and upon his replying that he did, he asked him why he did not conform to the church. Acesius stated the Novatian discipline, which would not admit to the sacraments, even upon repentance, those who had



committed mortal sin after baptism; upon which the emperor exclaimed, "set a ladder then, Acesius, and go up to heaven alone."—*Socrates. Hist. Eccles.*

ACHARD, or ST VICTOR, was bishop of Avranches, in Normandy, and flourished in the 12th century. He is supposed to have been an Englishman. After filling the office of second abbot at St Victor, in Paris, he was consecrated bishop in 1162. He died in 1172. His works are—1. "De Tentatione Christi." 2. "De divisione animæ et spiritus;" copies of which manuscripts are in Bennet-college library, Cambridge. 3. "Sermons." 4. "The life of St Geselin." This last was printed at Douay, in 1626.—*Moreri.*

ACHARDS, ELEAZAR FRANCIS DE LA BAUME DE, a French ecclesiastic, was born of a noble family, at Avignon, in 1679. On entering into orders, he distinguished himself by the zeal with which he attended to the wants of the poor, particularly during the plague at Marseilles, in 1721. This induced pope Clement XII, to employ him as apostolical vicar, with the title of bishop of Halicarnassus, in the arduous office of settling the dispute which prevailed among the missionaries in China. But after residing there two years, his lectures were unsuccessful, and he died at Cochin, in 1741. An account of this mission, containing also a funeral oration on his death, by a Chinese priest, was published by his secretary, M. Fabre, in 1746, 4to.—*Biog. Universelle.*

ACONTIUS, or ACONZIO, JAMES, a native of Trent, who, after receiving ordination in the church of Rome, relinquished Romanism, and went to Switzerland, in 1557. From thence he went to Strasburgh, and lastly visited England, where he was well received by queen Elizabeth, who employed him as an engineer. In gratitude he dedicated to her majesty his book on the stratagems of Satan, printed at Basle, in 1565. His best work, however,

is one entitled, “*De Methodo sive recta investigandarum et tradendarum artium ac scientiarum ratione*,” printed at the same place, in 1558. Another treatise by him with the title of “*Ars muniendorum oppidorum*,” in Italian and Latin, was printed at Geneva, in 1585. Acontius was a member of the Dutch congregation in Austin-Friars, but falling under the suspicion of “anabaptistical and Arian principles, proceedings were taken against him before Grindal, then bishop of London, who sentenced him not to be admitted to the holy sacrament, and forbade any of the Dutch communities in London to receive him. He died in 1656. He has the bad fame of being the precursor of lord Herbert of Cherbury, and the deists of England.—*Gen. Dict. Strype’s Life of Grindal*, pp. 62, 66, 8vo.

ADALBERT, bishop of Prague towards the close of the tenth century, was the son of a Christian Slavonian prince, whose territories lay on the east side of the upper Elbe. He was baptized by the name of Woyteg. He was from his infancy dedicated to the Church, by the piety of his parents. He was educated at the archiepiscopal school of Magdeburg. On his return to Prague he became a priest, and he was consecrated bishop of that see in 933. He accepted the office with reluctance, as well he might, for he was at that time unworthy to hold it, and owed his elevation to his noble birth. The country was so devoted to paganism, that to convert it seemed next to an impossibility, and yet to attempt the conversion of the people was evidently the bishop’s duty. The late bishop, Dithmar, had suffered much, on his death-bed, from reproaches of conscience in this respect; and yet Dithmar had been a very moral man: he had learning and gravity, and he had, in the opinion of the world, done nothing to merit this self-condemnation; but he felt that he had been remiss in the discharge of his duties; that he had lacked zeal. If he had no vices, his people had enough for all the world together; and he felt that he had not done what he should have done to reform them. Adalbert was shocked at this

confession : he had a path of equal difficulty before him ; and if his efforts were not more zealous, more successful, he too might one day despair of his salvation in the world to come. He, therefore, laboured incessantly in his new office. He watched, prayed, admonished, taught, with exemplary diligence ; but such was the immoral tendency, or rather the inefficiency, of the constrained celibacy, of the clergy, that he could not restrain his clergy from concubinage. It was equally difficult to restrain the laity from frequent homicide, and both clergy and laity from drunkenness. In despair he deserted his flock, went to Rome, and assumed the cowl at St Alexis. But his flock soon claimed him, and received him with public honours. So auspicious was this commencement, that he fully calculated on more docility than he had yet found. He was soon undeceived ; the people adhered to their former vices. A circumstance afterwards occurred which increased his disgust so much, that he again resolved to abandon his flock. An adulteress of high rank, whose relations were about to put her to death, according to the law of the land, fled to the bishop. He placed her in the church of a convent, with the intention of saving her life, and of bringing her to repentance. The relations, however, assembled in arms to claim her. The archbishop went out to meet them. They told him that they saw his ambition ; he sought the glory of martyrdom ; but they would not gratify his pious zeal by committing sacrilege, they would have their revenge by killing his relations. Meanwhile, during this colloquy, some of the rioters found means of ingress into the convent, seized the lady, and she was beheaded by the common executioner.

Again he sought refuge in his convent at Rome. In 996 he was returning to his diocese, when he learned that all his kinsmen had been massacred in a church, and he found that the people would not receive him, because, as a kinsman, he must seek revenge for this deed of blood. Adalbert, therefore, repaired to Poland, resolved to end his days in missionary labours. The pagan Prussians seemed



much in want of his zeal; and, accompanied by thirty Polish horsemen, whom the Polish duke Boleslaus had given to him as an escort, he plunged into that barbarous country. At Dantzic he converted many; but in the rural districts, which he visited without his escort, he was less successful. While haranguing the people on an island in Pomerania, a barbarian struck him to the earth. The wound, however, was not a dangerous one, and he was told to leave the country for ever; for if he ventured to return, certain death should be his portion. But he had no intention to leave it: he merely retired to a house on the frontier, where he remained until his beard and hair were grown so as to cover the shaven crown. He then laid aside his episcopal garments, and in the garb of the country he re-appeared amongst the pagans. He was probably not recognized, but his fate was not to be averted. He was one day discovered with other Christians—converts, no doubt—engaged in worship, and the spear of a pagan priest penetrated to his heart. On the same spot he was beheaded, and his head borne in triumph on the top of a pole. Duke Boleslaus redeemed both it and the trunk, and placed them where they might be venerated in relics. Thus perished the apostle of Pomerania—one who, in the performance of his duty, feared not stripes, or bonds, or death.—*Cosmæ Pragensis Ecclesiæ Decani Chronica Boemorum libri tres.*

ADAM, of Bremen, was born at Misnia, in the 11th century, and was made a canon of Bremen by Adelbert, the archbishop, in 1067. He was at the same time placed at the head of the school. His “*Historia ecclesiastica ecclesiarum Hamburgensis et Bremensis vicinorumque locorum septentrionalium ab anno 788, ad annum 1072,*” contains a valuable account of the establishment of Christianity in the north of Europe. Bremen was the missionary station for the conversion of the north, and consequently, besides the archives of the archbishopric, and the library of his convent, he gained information from

conversation with the missionaries. We are also indebted to him for the first accounts of the interior of Sweden and Russia. He speaks of the island of Great Britain, but chiefly from the accounts of Solinas and Martianus Copela, as he did not visit this country. The time of his death is uncertain.—*Biog. Univ. Moreri.*

ADAM DU PETIT PONT, was born in England in the 12th century, and was sent while young to Paris, where he became one of the most distinguished of the professors. He studied under Mathie d'Angers and Peter Lombard, and was a zealous partizan of Aristotle. His school, where he taught, was situated near the Petit Pont, from which circumstance his contemporaries commonly designated him by the name of Adam du Petit Pont. He here lectured chiefly on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics. He was afterwards made a canon of Notre Dame, and as such he professed theology in the episcopal school of the diocese. He was called home from Paris, in 1175, or 1176, and was consecrated bishop of St Asaph. He died in England in 1180. In the writings of his contemporaries, he is sometimes distinguished by the epithet of *Peripateticus*, on account of his attachment to the philosophy of Aristotle; and sometimes by that of *Scholasticus*.—*Biog. Universelle.*

ADAM (Scotus,) an historian in the 12th century, was born in Scotland, and educated in the monastery of Lindisfarn, from whence he went to Paris, and became a member of the Sorbonne. He afterwards returned to his native country, and was a monk, first at Melrose, and lastly at Durham, where he wrote the life of St Columbanus, and that of David I. king of Scotland. He was afterwards made bishop of Withern. Several of his works were printed at Antwerp in 1659. He died in 1180.—*Moreri.*

ADAM, THOMAS, an English clergyman, was born at Leeds, in 1701, and educated at Wakefield. After remain-

ing two years at Christ's college, Cambridge, he went to Hart-hall, now Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took his degree of B. A. On entering into orders he obtained the living of Wintringham, in Lincolnshire, of which he continued rector fifty-eight years, and repeatedly refused additional preferment. He died in 1784. He gave offence to some of his friends by indulging occasionally in a game of cards; but this he relinquished some years before his death, on finding that this was one of the amusements prohibited by the religious world. He published several works; but that for which he is best known is "Private thoughts on religion, and other subjects connected with it."

ADAMSON, PATRICK, was born at Perth, in March, 1536. He bore also the name of Constance. He received his primary education at the grammar school of his native town, and thence proceeded to St Mary's college, at St Andrews, where he took his M. A. degree in 1558. In this university he became a public teacher for some time, and sided with the friends of the reformation, as the religious revolution of Scotland was called, although it is well known that in Scotland the Church was not reformed, but overthrown, and a new religion introduced. In 1560 the general assembly of the ministers and others of this new religion, which had not assumed as yet the presbyterian form, as it now exists, conferred upon Adamson such powers as it had to confer for discharging the functions of the ministerial office, and he officiated as a minister at Ceres, in Fife. In 1564 he published his first work, a poem, entitled "*De Papistorum Superstitionis Ineptiis.*"

He soon after went abroad, and after remaining about two years at Paris, he went first to the province of Poitou, and then to Padua, where he pursued his studies; after this he seems to have gone to Geneva, and to have become acquainted with Beza. From Geneva he returned to Paris, and thence proceeded to Bourges, as Paris was



involved in the confusions of a civil war. He was probably in this city during the massacre of Paris, and the same spirit of fierce persecution being there as in Paris, directed against the protestants, he lived concealed for seven months at a public house, the master of which, though upwards of seventy years of age, was thrown from the top of the house and had his brains dashed out, because of his charity to protestants. The fierceness of the French character, and their appetite for blood, displayed itself even when religion was the plea. While he thus lay concealed, in his sepulchre, as he called it, he wrote his latin poetical version of the book of Job, and his tragedy of Herod, which was composed in the same language.

There has been some dispute about the period of his return to Scotland. If he was in France in August, 1572, the time of the massacre of St Bartholomew, he was not the person who preached a sermon in ridicule of bishops on the 8th of February in that year, as is asserted of him by Calderwood, and other presbyterian writers. It was said to be preached by Patrick Constance at the inauguration of John Douglas, as titular archbishop of St Andrews. It is not a matter of much importance, as Adamson, according to his own principles, might have used the language attributed to him with perfect consistency. He is said to have drawn a comparison between "My lord bishop," "My lord's bishop," and "THE LORD's bishop." The first he described as episcopal, or popish; the second as the tool of a nobleman; and the third as a faithful overseer of Christ's flock.

In order to understand this allusion, and the subsequent history of Adamson, it is necessary to state, that in 1571-2 a fresh change had been adopted in the frequently changing constitution of the new Scotch kirk. What is called the "*tulchan*" episcopacy was at that time established by the estates of the realm, assembled at Leith. By the noblemen who were most distinguished agents in the Scottish reformation, it was found that they could not make out a good title to those estates of the Church which,

for their services in the overthrow of catholicism, they thought themselves justified in appropriating to their own use. They found it therefore expedient to have some one invested with the temporalities of the see, under the name of bishop, who might assign to his patron such estates of the see as the noble patron might think sufficient to support the dignity of the peerage. It was declared, therefore, that the "name and office of archbishop and bishop should be continued during the king's minority, and these dignities conferred upon the best qualified of the protestant ministers; but that with regard to their spiritual jurisdiction, they should be subject to the general assembly of the kirk." These men did not require any consecration, they cared not for any apostolical succession, they were merely invested with the temporalities, that the reforming nobility might secure for themselves the revenues of the Church; and the bishops so created were called sarcastically *tulchan* bishops, from a practice then in use of stuffing calf skins with straw, called "tulchan calves," for the purpose of inducing the mother cow to give her milk. So the lay peers of Scotland at that time nominated, as we have said, certain ministers to vacant bishoprics; gave them the temporal dignity of bishops, without their being really such; and through their means, on consideration of a limited income, drew the greater part of their revenues, and obtained interminable leases of church lands. The tulchan or titular bishops were indeed entitled to preside at the meetings of ministers; but being subject to the general assembly they were soon made to feel their inferior and dependent condition. In the mean while, the whole condition of religion in Scotland was such as to make catholics regard the worst corruptions of popery as more tolerable than the new state of things. They saw the reforming nobility guilty of the most shameful sacrilege; they saw the chief reforming ministers simoniacally selling themselves to uphold it; and they saw the new kirk full of party rancour and bigotry, guilty of intolerance and persecution, while churches were neglected, and the whole

country was demoralized. The fact is, that religion was at this time only the shape which politics assumed, and it was used by the factious as the only legitimate method of carrying on their opposition to the government. A bitter republican spirit was at the bottom of every movement in the kirk; a spirit which displayed itself more openly soon after, and overthrew the throne, as it had overthrown the altar. The same republican spirit is at this present time at work in the church of England! May those who, from political motives encourage it, take warning betimes.

The real fault of Adamson was not in attacking the tulchan episcopacy, if he were really the author of the sermon alluded to, but in accepting the office thus reviled, when on the death of Douglas it was offered to him.

When he first returned from Scotland he married and began to practice at the bar. But the kirk was the real arena at that time for a worldly and ambitious man; he was therefore easily persuaded to resume his duties as a minister of the kirk, and was appointed minister of Paisley. He attached himself to the party in the kirk which held with the court, and consequently, became obnoxious to the majority, who were fiercely intolerant of every one who did not accord with their views; but he obtained court favours, being first appointed chaplain to the earl of Morton, and then, on the death of Douglas, to the titular or tulchan archbishopric of St Andrews.

Adamson seems to have been a thoroughly selfish man. He had no great principle to uphold, but the title he held implied distinction and honour; this, at court and in parliament, he received, but it was denied him in the kirk. He determined to assert some authority, but he seems never to have known what his authority was, and in the assertion of it no principle was involved.

He commenced his new career by taking a false step. He invited Melville, the founder of the present Scottish kirk, the real author of presbyterianism, to St Andrews. (See life of Melville.) "Melville," says Sage, "was a man by nature fierce and fiery, confident and peremptory,



peevish and ungovernable." He was in fact a demagogue of the worst kind, using the language without realizing the spirit of Christianity. Bred at Geneva, in the Calvinistic school, his hatred of the very name of episcopacy even surpassed his hatred of monarchy; and for bearing the title of bishop, though he knew that he was no more a bishop than himself, he entertained such a dislike of Adamson as to render him forgetful of all favours. Adamson ought to have been warned against the measure; for Melville had been called by the tulchan or titular archbishop of Glasgow, to assist him in the government of the university in that town, and he had evinced his gratitude by attempting to destroy the noble cathedral of that ancient city, and by a system of opposition to his patron, which caused him to die of a broken heart. Perhaps Adamson thought that Melville might be won by favours from the court; but Melville was a man far superior to Adamson in genius, and he saw that, while the creatures of the court might bear an empty title, the real power resided with those who by strength of intellect, and little regard of principle, could direct the democracy of the kirk. He tried to excite and ride upon the storm, and to be a leader of men, not nominally, but in fact.

It would be wearisome to the reader, and not consistent with the conciseness aimed at in these narratives, were we to enter into a detail of all the petty annoyances to which the poor titular of St Andrews was subjected from the general assemblies under the influence of Melville. Melville's object was to establish his favourite presbyterianism in the new kirk, as preferable to the system of superintendents introduced under Knox, and preferable still more to the tulchan episcopacy; he was induced, not merely by his more malignant passions, but by policy, to make the office of a tulchan bishop as uncomfortable as possible.

It is lamentable to have to relate the conflicts between two unprincipled men of the world, using religion as the cloak of their ambition, but the lesson may be read with profit. That presbyterianism triumphed over this tulchan episco-

pacy, is, to the real episcopalian, a subject of thankfulness: for it would only have added to our many confusions, if the name without the authority of bishops, had been retained in what is now the established religion in Scotland: but every religious person must regard with feelings of deep regret the steps taken by the presbyterian faction to establish their position under Melville. Dr Macrie indeed would convert Melville into a hero, but few, even among presbyterians, will be found, we trust, to vindicate his character, when it is fairly examined. We may give as a specimen of the spirit of the presbyterian party the following extract from the diary of James Melville. And if in *tone* it shall remind the reader of some of the puritanical or so-called religious publications of the present day, he will admit that in *expression* the moderns have improved upon their ancestors.

“All this time, since the general assembly of 1582, until this August, (1583,) bishop Adamson kept his castle, like a tod [fox] in a hole, sick of a disease of great fetidity, and oftentimes under the care of women suspected of witchcraft, especially one who confessed to have learnt medicine of a William Simson, who appeared divers times to her after his death, and gave her a book. This woman being examined by the presbytery, and found a witch in their judgment, was given to the bishop to be kept in his castle for execution; but he suffered her to slip away. Notwithstanding, within three or four years after, she was taken and executed at Edingburgh for a witch. It was reported to us as a verity, that the bishop consulted with these witches, as to the king's estate and his own, and got a response that he should stand as long as the king stood. But the devil deceived him there. We were plain and sharp with him as to these witches, both from the pulpit, and in doctrine, and by censure of our presbytery. But notwithstanding the bishop's sickness, when the king came to St Andrews in July, and separated himself from the lords that had seized him at Ruthven, the bishop becomes a whole man all at once, and occupies the pulpit before

the king, lustily declaiming against his enemies and all their proceedings. And he that had often professed before that he had not the gift of application, now got this gift by inspiration of such a spirit as never spake in the scriptures of God. And because it was reported for truth, that the duke [of Lennox] had died a papist, he made open contradiction thereto, affirming for certain, that he died a good protestant; which he proved by shewing a scroll in his hand, which he called the duke's testament; but an honest merchant-woman, sitting before the pulpit, and spying it narrowly, affirmed it was an account of four or five years' standing which a few days before she had sent to him."

The presbyterians had one advantage over modern puritans: the latter are obliged to confine themselves to words: the presbyterians under Melville could proceed to acts. One poor wretch, Alison Pearson, was doomed to death for her witcheries: she was tried on the 28th of April, 1588; and it was charged against her that "the bishop of St Andrews, having a complication of sicknesses, such as the trembling fever, the palp, the ripples, and the flexus, she made a salve for him, with which she rubbed his cheeks, throat, breast, stomach and sides; and that she also made a potation for him of ewe milk, claret wine, and other ingredients, a whole quart of which he took at two draughts." When such are the charges brought against a man by his most bitter enemies, we are inclined to think that his life must have been good. Others, besides presbyterians, believed that witches were under the influence of Satan: this may be doubtful; but there is no doubt that Satan is the father of lies, and this is a fact of which the propagators of falsehood should often be reminded.

In 1583, king James sent Adamson as his ambassador to the court of queen Elizabeth; and perhaps this was the most agreeable period of the poor titular's life. It was supposed in England that he was really a bishop, and as such he was treated. Returning to Scotland in May,



1584, he sat in the parliament which assembled in Edinburgh that month, by which, in the nervous language of a presbyterian publication of the day, "the whole form of ecclesiastical policy or spiritual government grounded on the word of God, whereunto the cursed bishops themselves subscribed, was altogether thrown down, almost within the space of twenty-four hours."—(Calderwood, p. 157.)

The titular archbishop was now a favourite with the king, and preached frequently at court; although on one occasion, we know that some of those, to whom the very name of bishop was odious, quitted the church as he entered the pulpit. But the scene changed when the noblemen, who had fled to England after the raid of Ruthven, returned with Andrew Melville in their train. The administration of Arran was dismissed, and the influence of the presbyterian party was established.

In 1586 the synod of Fife met at St Andrews, and was opened by a sermon from James Melville, who, says Calderwood, "after some remarks on human and satanical bishoprics, directed his speech to Mr Patrick Adamson, sitting beside him with a haughty countenance, and recounted to him shortly his life and actions: and said that, being a minister of the kirk, the dragon had so stinged him with the venom of avarice and ambition, that, swelling exorbitantly, he threatened the destruction of the whole body, in case he were not timeously and with courage cut off. He exhorted the assembled conclave to play the chirurgeon for preserving the body; seeing all means had been long since used for amendment upon that most corrupt and monstrous member." One scarcely knows which most to admire, the obtuseness of conscience, which could permit a preacher to use such language in the pulpit, or the want of moral perception which could induce an historian to narrate the fact as worthy to be praised. It may be puritanism, but some will doubt how far it is Christianity, so to speak and thus to act. The spirit of

the preacher, however, animated the conclave, and they excommunicated Adamson. It was in vain that, in the spirit of retaliation, Adamson soon after excommunicated the Melvilles; for as neither party had authority from God to excommunicate; the anathema was unheeded, except so far as the presbyterian anathema was of avail to justify the excesses of a presbyterian mob.

Although the influence of the court obtained a reversion of the anathema, yet Adamson was obliged to resign every thing pertaining to his office, except the name, and was prosecuted in various other assemblies. The general assembly which met in June, 1590, again applauded the violence of James Melville, when he directed his invectives against Adamson, whom, forgetting his charity in his zeal, he denounced "as impoisoned with the venom of the old serpent; a cockatrice egg, full of falsehood, malice and knavery:" he finally exhorted the brethren to ratify and approve the sentence of excommunication justly pronounced against him.

Although excommunication by a presbyterian body could not do injury to Adamson's soul, it subjected him to personal inconvenience of a serious nature; and the close of his life was pitiable indeed. He laboured under an incurable disorder; and, deserted by the court, as he had himself contributed to rob the Church, so was he, in just retribution, deprived of the small pension which the duke of Lennox had engaged to pay him out of the revenues of the archbishopric. Never was the curse of God more marked than it was upon this poor man, and indeed upon all the tulchan bishops. He accepted office with a sacrilegious intent, and he failed in all his worldly objects. Whatever he undertook was found to fail. He knew the king's foibles,—his pedantry and his love of flattery: in his calamities he published the Lamentations of Jeremiah in Latin verse, and dedicated the poem to the king, but it procured him no favour. His religious antagonists, never scrupulous, began to exult over him. Being a man of ex-

pensive and self-indulgent habits, he was reduced to such distress, that he was compelled to ask for pecuniary assistance from the very person who had been the chief means of reducing him to a state of destitution, Andrew Melville; and while Melville advanced him the money, he insulted him by assuring him that his troubles were a just judgment from heaven upon him, for his accepting the episcopal office; and even in his last moments his persecutor, preferring party interests to the common feelings of humanity, never rested until he compelled him to sign a renunciation of his former opinions on church government, which he published under the title of "Mr P. Adamson's recantation." It was well known that he was too ill at the time to understand the nature of the document he subscribed. He died soon after in the year 1592.

Christianity blushes when she has to record such deeds of violence, falsehood, and worldly-mindedness, done in its name. We cannot but pity Adamson, and feel indignant at the tyranny of the presbyterians; but the justice of history must award censure to both the parties who, having left the old paths, were given over to their own devices.—Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*. Lyon's *History of St Andrews*. Macrie's *Life of Melville*. Calderwood's *True history of the Church of Scotland*. Stephens' *history of the Church in Scotland*.

ADDISON, LANCELOT, was born at Crosby Ravensworth, in Westmoreland, in 1632. From Appleby school he was sent to Queen's college, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. He was chosen one of the terræ-filii at the act in 1658, but his loyalty getting the better of his prudence, he bore so hard in his oration on the pride, hypocrisy, ignorance, and avarice of the sectarians then in power, that he was compelled to make a recantation, and to ask pardon for the offence given on his knees. The tyranny to which he was subject, on the part of the sectarians who had possession of the university was such, that in disgust



he soon after quitted Oxford, and lived retired till the restoration, when he became chaplain to the garrison at Dunkirk; and in 1563, to that at Tangier. He returned to England in 1670, and was made chaplain in ordinary to his majesty. Soon after he obtained the living of Milston, in Wilts, with a prebend in the cathedral of Salisbury; and in 1683 he was promoted to the deanery of Lichfield. He died in 1703. The chief of his works are 1. A "description of West Barbary," 8vo. 1671. 2. "An account of the present state of the Jews," 8vo. 1677. 3. The "Life of Mahomet, 8vo. 1678.—*Biog. Brit.*

ADELARD, a very learned member of the church of England, who flourished about 1150. He resided at Bath, where he became a monk in the celebrated monastery of that city, of Saxon foundation, to which was attached a valuable library, a portion of which had been given by king Ethelstan. He travelled into Egypt and Arabia, and translated Euclid's elements out of Arabic into Latin, before any Greek copies were discovered. He also wrote several treatises on mathematical and medical subjects, which remain in MS. at Oxford.—*Hutton's Math. Dict. Vossius de Scient. Math.*

ADELMAN, bishop of Breschia in the eleventh century, was first clerk of the church, next master of the ecclesiastical school, at Liege, probably from A. D. 1041 to 1048. He studied under the celebrated Fulbert, and had for his school-fellow the still more celebrated Berengarius, who was distinguished by his treatise against the then novel doctrine of transubstantiation. Adelman answered that treatise, and was imitated by many other writers. A more useful work than this is his poem *De Viris illustribus sui Temporis*, which he composed after his elevation to the see of Breschia in 1048. The time of his death is not exactly known; but it was between 1057 and 1061.—*Moreri.*

Ado was born about the year 800, in the territory of Gâtinois, in the north of Gaul. He was educated in the monastery of Ferrieres, in his native district. He was appointed archbishop of Vienne in 860. He was one of the most eminent of the ecclesiastics of his day for piety and learning. He wrote several books, among the most valuable of which are a Chronicle, a Martyrology, and the Lives of several saints.—*Dupin*.

ADREVALD, a benedictine monk, who resided at Fleury, in the ninth century, where he acquired considerable reputation by his writings. The chief of these was a treatise on the Eucharist against Johannes Scotus. He also published some biographical or historical works, such as “*Historia translationis S. Benedicti*,” which is printed by Mabillon, in his “*Acta Benedictinorum*.” “*Historia Miraculorum S. Benedicti*.” “*Vita S. Agilulfi*,” also printed by Mabillon. These works are very interesting, but much disfigured by his account of apocryphal miracles.

ADRIAN, or HADRIAN, for the name is spelt both ways in Bede, was born in Africa, in the 7th century, and became abbot of a monastery near Naples. The Anglo-Saxons had been converted by the immediate influence of a bishop of Rome, and in consequence between the Church of England at this time and the Roman see, there was a closer union than there existed between that see and any other of the western churches. The same kind of influence which the present archbishop of Canterbury exercises over the colonial bishops, was exercised by the bishop of Rome, or pope, over the English prelates. The archbishop of Canterbury dying at Rome in the year 668, the pope Vitalian, with the policy of his see in assuming powers not legitimately possessed, determined to raise to the archiepiscopal throne a prelate elected by himself, and he nominated Adrian. But Adrian declined the proffered dignity, and recommended another monk named Andrew, who also declined on the plea of advanced years. He

then recommended Theodore, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, at that time in Rome, who accepted the office on condition that Adrian would accompany him. The Anglo-Saxons made no objection to the right thus arrogated by the pope, and at the age of sixty-six Theodore departed for England with his friend Adrian. After encountering some difficulties in passing through France, Adrian arrived in England, being, according to Bede, "exceedingly skilled both in greek and latin," and as he is termed in William of Malmsbury, "a fountain of letters and a river of arts." He was appointed abbot of St Peter's, afterwards called St Austin's, at Canterbury; though it is doubtful whether he received the appointment immediately on his arrival in England or not, till the resignation of Benedict Biscop. Adrian, assisted by the archbishop, drew around him a multitude of scholars, several of whom made such progress, that, according to Bede, they were as well acquainted with greek and latin as with their mother tongue. In conjunction with the Christian faith, the arts and sciences were also taught; and such was the zeal excited, that the pupils of Adrian and Theodore, diffused the knowledge they had acquired throughout England, and established schools in every monastery for the education, not only of the clergy, but also of such of the laity, as evinced any inclination for literature. The only deficiency was books, which occasioned many journeys to Rome, in order to augment the number of books from the collections in that city. Although this frequent intercourse with Rome was attended afterwards with disastrous consequences to our church, leading as it did in the first instance to such quiet usurpations of the pope as that which has been just related, and afterwards to more violent and unjust aggressions, no other course could be adopted, as Rome was at this time the capital of the world, and the centre of civilization. To the blessed effects resulting from the labours of these distinguished men, in the flourishing state of the Church of England through the learning of her clergy, Bede bears his grateful testimony; and we may



attribute to their influence the fact, that the liturgy of the Church of England, in some respects, bears a greater similarity to some of the liturgies of the eastern church than to those of the west. After having held the archbishopric twenty-one years, Theodore died; Adrian survived him nearly eighteen years.—Bede's *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 1. Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.* Lorenz *Life of Alcuin.* Churton's *Anglo-Saxon Church.*

ADRIAN. See *Breakspear.*

ADRIAN DE CASTELLO, was born at Cornetto, a small town in Tuscany, about the year 1450. Without any advantages of birth, by his learning, skill, and prudence, he raised himself to the highest stations of the church. Having been sent as nuncio to Scotland in 1484, he found the state of affairs so distracted in that kingdom, that he did not venture further on his journey than London, where he remained for some time. He there became acquainted with Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, at whose recommendation Henry VII. appointed him agent for English affairs at the court of Rome. He was rewarded with the bishopric of Hereford, from which see he was in 1505 translated to that of Bath and Wells. These important sees were thus occupied by a non-resident foreigner, a most crying abuse, shewing how much the Church of England at this time needed a reformation. By Alexander VI. he was invested with several dignities, and was admitted into the college of cardinals in 1503. In the latter year an attempt was made to poison him at a banquet at the Vatican by the pope, who desired to obtain possession of his enormous wealth; when, by a mistake of the servant, the poisoned vessel was presented to the pope himself, who died in consequence. We have here another proof of the need of reformation in the church at this time; still further proof being afforded by Adrian himself at the close of his life. In 1518 a cardinal of Rome, Alonso Petrucio, conspired with certain other cardinals the death of Leo the tenth, and among these cardinals the bishop of Bath and Wells was

content to make one ; moved thereunto not by any grudge or private displeasure, but only by an ambitious conceit that he should himself be pope, if Leo the tenth were dead ; a certain witch, or base woman having predicted that such would be the event. Being detected, he withdrew from Rome, and so effectually concealed himself, that the place is not known to which he retired, or the time when he died. He was distinguished for the elegance of his latin poetry, and published a treatise, “*De sermone latino,*” and another, “*De vera philosophia.*”—*Godwin de Præsulibus.*

ÆGIDIUS DE COLUMNA, general of the Augustines in the thirteenth century. He taught divinity at Paris with great reputation, and was called, according to the humour of the times, *doctor fundatissimus*. One of his books, as an early specimen of typography, is still sought for ; it is entitled “*Tractatus de Originali Peccato,*” and was printed at Oxford in 1479, 4to. He died in 1316.—*Dupin.*

ÆGIDIUS, JOHN, a native of St Albans, was educated at Paris, and was the first Englishman that joined the Dominicans. He taught and lectured in the two schools of his order at Oxford. By Grossetête, bishop of Lincoln, he was removed, and made assistant of that prelate in the administration of his diocese.—*Gen. Biog. Dict.*

ÆLFRIC. The personal history of this eminent teacher of the Anglo-Saxon church has been involved in much obscurity, owing to the great number of other persons of the same name, who were living about the same period. Hence some critics, with the learned Henry Wharton at their head, have tried to prove him to have been the same with Ælfrie Putta or Puttoc, archbishop of York. Others, both ancient and modern, have maintained the earliest opinion, which identifies him with the primate who presided at Canterbury, in the middle of the reign of Ethelred, A.D. 994-1005. This view has been ably sustained by a

learned Oxford Saxonist of the last century, Edward Rowe Mores, whose dissertation on the subject was published in 1789, after the author's death, by the distinguished Danish antiquary, Thorhelin, with a commendatory preface. And it is this view which we shall adopt in general in the following account; following the plan of Mr Mores, which is, first, to give a sketch of the life of Ælfric, of Canterbury, and secondly, a few particulars of those ecclesiastics of the same period and name, who are sometimes confounded with him.

I. Ælfric, the author of the homilies, and other Anglo-Saxon theological works, and the translator of the Heptateuch, was the son of parents of the highest rank in the county of Kent. His mother seems to have married for her second husband Eardwulf, earl of Kent, whose name appears as one of the benefactors of the church of Canterbury, about the years 940-943. By this marriage she had two sons, of whom Leofric, the elder, like Ælfric, devoted himself to a religious life, and resigned his worldly honours and inheritance to his younger brother, whose name is not recorded. Hence, supposing Ælfric to have been the offspring of the earlier marriage, he was most probably born not later than the last years of the reign of Athelstan, not much earlier nor later than A.D. 940.

Ælfric's education was at first committed to the charge of a Kentish priest, who seems to have been ill qualified for the task. "He could but in part understand latin," as Ælfric reports of him, and was unable to explain some of the most ordinary scripture difficulties. But the period during which Ælfric was growing up was that which witnessed a new impulse given to the spirit of monastic zeal by the efforts of Dunstan and his associates; and to their labours, whatever errors were mixed up with them, we certainly owe the preservation of such learning as was then to be found remaining from the time of Alfred, and the revival of learned studies in the rising generation. The monastery of Abingdon had been restored, in some measure, after the Danish wars, by king Athelstan; but it was king



Edred who gave stability to the new abode of cloistered piety, by his gifts of endowment, and by sending the famous Ethelwold, *the father of monks*, from Glastonbury, to preside as abbot, A.D. 955. To this place of training, for the service of the church, Ælfric betook himself, and was soon numbered among the most favoured disciples of Ethelwold.

In A.D. 963, Ethelwold was called from Abingdon, by Dunstan and king Edgar, to undertake the bishopric of Winchester. Thither he went, and, according to a process then generally adopted by Dunstan and his friends, he expelled the secular clergy from their offices in the cathedral, and introduced a body of his monks from the monastery he had left. In this number was Ælfric, who was doubtless one who had profited much by the lessons of his monastic father. For, as Wulfstan, the biographer of Ethelwold, informs us, “it was the delight of his life to teach young men and boys growing up to man’s estate, to *turn latin books for them into english*, to give them rules for grammar and metre, and by pleasant conversations to draw them on to better things.” He could hardly have more exactly described what was in later years the practice of the pupil, when he in turn became a master.

At Winchester it probably was, that Ælfric began to be an author. His earliest work appears to have been his *Glossary* of latin and saxon words, which was long in common use among young scholars. This was followed by his *Grammar*, an English version of Donatus and Priscian; and, by his amusing *colloquies*, intended to familiarize to the learner the use of latin in ordinary conversation; a practice once generally adopted in our public schools, and perhaps now neglected with too little reason.

But he was at the same time devoting himself to studies of more public importance to the church and realm. It is plain that he was well read in the canons and councils of the primitive ages, and had a good acquaintance with the latin fathers, before he wrote what are called the *canons addressed to Wulfsine*. This work is more properly a pas-

toral charge, composed in such a form as to be delivered by the bishop to his clergy. It was composed at the request of Wulfstine, bishop of Sherborne, who, according to the best authorities, presided there from A.D. 980-998. In this work is contained one of the most distinct statements of the Anglo-Saxon church on the subject of the holy Eucharist, shewing how far our forefathers were at this period from the more modern and mistaken doctrine of transubstantiation.

At Winchester Ælfric's zeal for improving the learning of his countrymen, made his acquaintance to be sought by other patriots and patrons of learning. Among these was Ethelward, alderman or earl of Hampshire, and high sheriff or lord-lieutenant of the county. At his request, the learned monk now undertook one of his most important and valuable works, a *translation of the five books of Moses* into Anglo-Saxon; to which he added an abridgment of the other historical books of the Old Testament, *Joshua, Judges, the two books of Kings, Job, and Esther*, and the apocryphal books of *Judith*, and *the Maccabees*. These three last appear to be lost; for the poem on the story of Judith, which has been sometimes published as part of Ælfric's version, is evidently a different work from his, and he does not appear to have been a writer of poetry.

In A.D. 987, Ethelmer, earl of Devon or Cornwall, having founded the monastery of Cerne Abbots, in Dorset, applied to Elfege, who was then bishop of Winchester, to send him a monk from his cathedral, who might instruct the new society in the Benedictine rule. Elfege, who appears to have been an intimate friend of Ælfric's, selected him for this office. Here he probably resided several months; and here it probably was that he became acquainted with Sigwerd, a Dorsetshire thane or country gentleman, residing at East Holne, now called Holnest, between Cerne and Sherborne. Sigwerd, having invited him to his house, and heard him preach, earnestly requested him to bestow upon him some specimen of his writings. This led to Ælfric's sending him afterwards his short

*treatise on the Old and New Testament.* In the first he not only gives a short summary of each book, with an account of the writers and prophets, but explains many of the types of our blessed Saviour, which are to be found in the history. He also gives some account of his own translations. In the second treatise he briefly relates the substance of the gospel narrative; more briefly, he says, because he has already written more than forty sermons on that portion of scripture; he recites the names of the apostolic epistles, and extracts some of the most instructive precepts from them; and gives an account from church history of the fall of Jerusalem, and the acts and deaths of the apostles, subsequently to what is recorded by St Luke. The treatise is not free from some of the errors of an unlearned age; but it is, as Ælfric says of it, "a treatise, which though written for one, might profit many," and is the work of a reverential pious mind.

Sigwerd had for his domestic chaplain a priest who had lived some years in a hermitage, but who seems to have found by experience that it was not good to be alone. Having heard Ælfric maintain that all clergymen ought to lead a single life, he attacked this doctrine in the presence of his patron. Ælfric, being a zealous advocate for the celibacy, as we find in several of his writings, and hearing what the hermit had said, wrote again to Sigwerd, *a letter on the chastity required of priests.* This, we believe, has not been published, but it exists in the British Museum.

In the latter part of the same year, or the beginning of the following, Ælfric was promoted to a station of high monastic dignity, being made abbot of St Alban's. There is some difficulty in this part of his history, owing to the very confused account given by Matthew Paris, in his lives of the abbots of this monastery, who seems to have ascribed the acts of one brother to the other. But it is certain that Ælfric and his half-brother Leofric were each in turn abbots of St Alban's; and as Leofric is spoken of as still living in Ælfric's will, which we shall presently produce, there can be no doubt that Paris has made a great



mistake in setting down Leofric as having been the first of the two who held the office. Here Ælfric is said to have composed a service in honour of St Alban, the British proto-martyr, and to have set the metrical portions or hymns to music; a service which, Paris says, was in use in his time, and, according to Leland, continued to be used till the time of the dissolution of the monastery. Here also he seems to have written his *epistle to Wulfget*, on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Wulfget was probably a Saxon gentleman, who, among others, had found much satisfaction in Ælfric's writings. He resided at a place called "Ylmandune," perhaps Ilmington, in Warwickshire. It does not appear that he was personally known to Ælfric; but the liking he had expressed to some common friends of some treatises which he had seen, was an inducement to the abbot to send him this with a "friendly greeting in God's name."

In A.D. 989, or early in the following year, Ælfric was further promoted to the bishopric of Wilton, Sigeric, who held that see, having been advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury. It would seem from the treatise already described, as addressed to Sigwerd, that he had, before before this time, probably during the many years when he was residing at Winchester, put forth some portion of those *Anglo-Saxon homilies*, which he now collected at two intervals, as it seems, in A.D. 990 and 991, and published with a dedicatory epistle to archbishop Sigeric, who seems to have authorized them to be read in churches. Each of the two collections consists of forty homilies. These were written chiefly, as he tells us, at the suggestion of earls Ethelwerd and Ethelmer; and the design was an excellent one; "for the edification of simple people, who only understood their native speech;" and "therefore," says Ælfric, "I have set down no obscure words, but plain English; that I may sooner reach the heart of those who hear or read them, and so benefit their souls." The doctrine is generally taken from the best teachers who had then written in latin; St Augustine, St Jerome, St Gregory, Bede,

Haymo, and Alcuin; but the arrangement and style are Ælfric's own. Among these homilies is one for Easter, which has in it another express testimony to the doctrine of the time concerning the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper; and has, for that reason, often been printed since the Reformation, to prove the agreement of our present doctrine with that of our forefathers. The homily itself is an excellent specimen of that plain and familiar way of teaching, which is calculated for unlettered hearers; it is in an easy style, broken into short sentences, and full of illustrative comparisons, to make the doctrine more readily understood.

Before Ælfric had completed his second book of homilies, the Danish invasions, which devastated England in the remainder of the reign of Ethelred, had begun. But a truce having been obtained in the year 991, by the advice of Sigeric, and the payment of £10,000, Ælfric was able to send the archbishop the remainder of this useful and important collection.

Besides these catholic discourses, he wrote another set of *Homilies on Saint Days*, commemorating both those saints which were then generally honoured in the Anglo-Saxon church, and some which were peculiarly venerated by the monastics. This work was also done at the request of earl Ethelwerd, who evidently took an extraordinary interest in Ælfric's labours, evincing his own christian zeal in the same cause. We read of this nobleman in Anglo-Saxon history as having been the means, together with St Elfege, then bishop of Winchester, of procuring peace between king Ethelred and Olave Triggueson, king of Norway; a peace which led to a friendly alliance with that country against the Danes, A.D. 994. We are sorry to learn that about seven years later, A.D. 1001, he fell in battle against the Danes, at Alton, fighting at the head of the men of his shire, in an unequal conflict, and sharing the fate of many brave men and good patriots in that unhappy reign, whom the unreadiness of the king exposed to be cut off one by one separately, while the forces of the

realm were never called out for one firm and united system of defence.

In the midst of these troubles, A.D. 994, Ælfric was summoned, on the death of Sigeric, to the primacy. Here it is not likely that he found leisure from his public labours, and in the distracted state of the country, to serve the church any longer by his writings. He had said to Ethelwerd, when he sent him his translations of the Old Testament, "I tell thee now, that I have not and will not undertake to turn any book after this out of latin into English; and I entreat thee, dear earl, that thou no more entreat me to do it, lest I be either disobedient to thee, if I do not promise, or a liar, if I do." This was written while he was yet a monk, at Winchester; and it seems to shew that the popularity of his writings was then so great, as to make it difficult to answer the many calls that were made upon his time. We may now therefore dismiss the account of his writings with the mention of *two sermons to the clergy*, written after he was become a bishop, which have not been published, but are extant both in latin and in Anglo-Saxon. There are one or two other treatises, which have been supposed to be his; but which, more probably belong to Ælfric Bata, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

From the time of Dunstan and Ethelwold, to the Norman conquest, the bishops of the English church were almost exclusively selected from among the monks of the great Benedictine abbeys, which these distinguished ecclesiastics had been the agents to found or to restore. Hence it was at this time a common object with the bishops to change the system of their cathedral chapters from a society of secular priests, such as is now the constitution of all existing cathedrals, into a convent of monks. Oswald, archbishop of York, and bishop of Worcester, was such a zealous fellow-labourer with Dunstan, in this kind of reform, that the process of ejecting the seculars, and bringing in the monks, was called by the name of "Oswald's law." He was so vigorous at this work, that, as Eadmer his biogra-



pher records of him, he did it under the royal license in many parts of England beyond his own diocese. It was not however done at Canterbury, singular as it may appear, by Dunstan himself, during all the thirty years that he held the primacy. It appears to have been done by Ælfric's friend Wulfsine, bishop of Sherborne, at his see, in the last year of his life, A.D. 998; and Thorne, the Canterbury historian of the 14th century, says, that it was done by Ælfric, at the cathedral church there, in A.D. 1005. In confirmation of it there is a charter of king Ethelred's, giving his license to the change. It is, however, certain, that the chapter of Canterbury was composed of secular priests from the time of archbishop Ceolnoth, A.D. 832-872, to the time of Lanfranc; and Egelnoth, who succeeded to the see after St Elfege, Ælfric's successor, was promoted to that station from the deanery of Canterbury. It is therefore most likely that Ælfric, if he had procured such a charter, did not wish to act upon it but by the fair means of persuasion, without interfering with vested rights. This is confirmed by the other Canterbury historian, Gervase, two centuries older than Thorne; who says, that the chapter all this time consisted of canons, living under a discipline somewhat different from the monks; and it is most consistent with Ælfric's character, who, though he was a zealous advocate for celibacy, and often complains of the want of learning in married priests, yet says, in one of his sermons to the clergy, "we do not wish to compel you to dismiss your wives; but we tell you what sort of men you ought to be; and if you will not be such, we shall be clear from partaking in your sins, having told you the canons of holy fathers."

In other respects Ælfric's character was that of an exemplary prelate. "He shone," says one of his contemporaries, "like Aaron's lamp, giving a constant light, among the prelates of his own order." Gervase, who seems to record the traditions of his church at a distance of about two hundred years from the time of Ælfric's primacy, calls him "Saint Ælfric;" and says that "he

ruled the church of Canterbury in the midst of much disturbance from the heathen invaders with the most religious care." And again, Bridforth of Ramsey, who lived during Ælfric's own time, speaks of "the extraordinary wisdom and skill for which he was publicly celebrated."

He died on the 16th of November A. D. 1005; and his will, which has been preserved among the records of the abbey of Abingdon, may perhaps interest the reader, from the light it throws on his life, as well as from the particulars it offers illustrative of old English manners. Few of these ancient wills, if we except king Alfred's, are more interesting. We will therefore attempt a nearly literal translation.

Her sutelath hu Alfric Arcebisceop his Cwide gedihte, &c. "Here is shown how archbishop Ælfric made his will. First, for his burial fee he bequeaths to Christ church [Canterbury,] the land at Well, and at Bourne, and at Risborough. And he bequeaths his lord [the king] his best ship, and the sails and rigging thereto; and sixty helmets, and sixty hawberks. And he wishes, if his lord grants his consent, to settle upon St Alban's the land at Kingsbury, and that he will take in exchange that at Adulfington. And he bequeaths the land at Dumbleton to Abingdon, save that Elfnoth is to hold three hides thereof for his life, and afterwards all is to go to Abingdon: and he bequeaths him ten oxen, and two men; and they [the men,] are to follow him for their lord, who has the land in his possession. And he bequeaths the land at Wallingford, which he bought, to Celward; and after his death to Cholsey [abbey]. And he bequeaths to St Alban's the land at Tewin; and let the agreement stand, that was formerly made with the Archbishop, between the abbot and Ceolric; namely, that Ceolric have the portion of the land that he has for his life-time, and also the portion that the archbishop let to him for his money; that is, seven hides and a half, for five pounds and fifty marcs of gold; and after his death let it all go together to St Alban's. And their agreement was, that Osney also should go after Ceolric's

death to the same place. And his land at London that he bought with his money, he bequeaths to St Alban's. And he bequeaths all his books also in thither; and his [travelling] tent. And he bequeaths that his executors take the money that they find, and first pay all his debts, and then assign over the heriots that may be claimed. And he gives his ships partly to the people in Kent, partly to those in Wiltshire. And as to other matters, whatever they are, he begs bishop Wulfstan and abbot Leofric to arrange as they may think best. And the land to the west of Sittington, and at Newington, he bequeaths to his sisters and their sons; and let the land which was Elfege's, Erni's son, go to his next of kin. And he bequeaths to archbishop Wulfstan a cross to hang round his neck, and a ring, and a psalter. And to Bishop Elfege a cross. And he forgives for God's sake the Kentish men the debt they should pay him; and to the Middlesex and Surrey men the sum that he paid for them. And his will is, that after his death every man be set free, who owes a fine, which he has incurred during his time. If any pervert this will, let him answer for it before God. Amen."

There is not room here to explain all that may require explanation to a modern English reader in this monument of antiquity. Every possessor of landed property under the Saxon kings was bound to furnish arms and men, in his proportion for the service of the sovereign in time of war; and as Ælfric's primacy was in the midst of the Danish invasions, it is natural that he should say so much in his will of ships and armour. His bequests are partly to the church at Canterbury, whose archbishops are still patrons of the livings at the three places he mentions, Westwell, and Bishop's Bourne, (Hooker's burial-place,) in Kent, and Monks' Risborough, Bucks. The rest to different monasteries. Abingdon, where he was received in his youth; Cholsey near Wallingford, (a small abbey broken up by Henry I. when he founded the abbey of Reading,) and St Alban's; in his bequests to which he evidently alludes to some transactions during his own abbacy. By his



“books,” according to some examples in these Saxon documents, he may mean only his title-deeds; but as these would naturally go to other different places with the land to which they related, it is most probable that he intends to give what he held to be his best treasure to his favourite abbey, where his brother presided. His travelling tent was a necessary part of the equipage of a Saxon nobleman; if for no other reason, yet because he could scarcely attend a Saxon parliament without it. The witenagemot assembled every year in the summer season, near the king’s country seat, wherever he happened to be resident; and the senators encamped in some royal forest-chase, whether at Woodstock, Windsor, or other places in more southern counties, generally not very far from London. It is plain that to a bishop it might be also convenient in going on his visitations. It is not so clear how the ships should be available to the Wiltshire men, inhabitants of an inland county, unless they had some right of port at Bristol or elsewhere. But we read that king Ethelred at one period of his reign required ships or ship-money from every landowner of a certain value, and of smaller proprietors a proportionate contribution. The debt of the Kentish men, and the sum advanced to the people of Middlesex and Surrey, was probably some relief to the distresses occasioned by the Danish wars. It is well known that under the Saxon laws fines for different classes of offences were to be paid severally to the king, and the high sheriff, and the bishop. These last are what Ælfric wishes to be forgiven at his death. Bishop Wulfstan, one of the executors, was probably bishop of London, who died nearly at the same time with Ælfric, and not the same person with the archbishop of York of the same name, who is mentioned just afterwards. Elfege, bishop of Winchester, is the same who succeeded Ælfric as archbishop, and was martyred by the Danes. The Will is altogether a record of a good subject, a good landlord, and a charitable Christian; and worthy

of imitation by modern bishops for the small proportion of property bequeathed to his own nearest relations.

II. Of the other Ælfrics, the only one whose writings are of much importance is Ælfric Bata. He was a monk of Winchester, and tells us that he was a pupil of Ælfric of Canterbury: after whose death he altered and enlarged some of his master's *Colloquies*. As we know this from his own testimony, it is easy to suppose that he imitated his master in his other writings; and we may probably ascribe to him two *Pastoral Letters* written for Wolfstan, archbishop of York, one of which contains a third statement of sound doctrine on the Holy Eucharist. When he wrote these letters, he was an abbot, and seems to have been presiding over the monastery of Ensham in Oxfordshire about the year 1005 and subsequently. Here he wrote a summary of monastic duties, or *epistle to the monks of Ensham*, abridged from a work of Ethelwold, "the father of monks." He wrote also a *life of Ethelwold*.

Some critics have supposed that this Ælfric Bata was the same with Ælfric Putta or Puttoc, whom Florence of Worcester states to have been prior of Winchester, before he was called to succeed Wolfstan in the see of York, A.D. 1023. But this is very uncertain. This Ælfric of York is accused by William of Malmsbury of having counselled king Hardecanute to perpetrate more than one act of atrocity. If the accusation is true, he well deserves the name of Puttoc, or the cruel kite. But it is only fair to his memory to mention that Wharton found in a good manuscript of Florence that the word was not Puttoc, but Withune, or the Wise; and the Saxon Chronicle, which records his death in A.D. 1051, calls him "a wise and worthy bishop." He was a benefactor to the church at Beverley.

Besides these, there was an Elfric, abbot of Malmsbury, who was afterwards made bishop of Crediton in A.D. 977, and died in A.D. 981. Malmsbury, perhaps wishing to exalt his own monastery, claims for him some of the writings which go under the name of Ælfric.

There were also other bishops of the name near the time; one of Hereford, who is said to have been previously abbot of Glastonbury, who died A.D. 988; and one of Elmham, who died A.D. 1038, whose *Will* is printed in the *Analecta*.—*Anglo-Saxonica*.

ÆPINUS, JOHN, a reformer, was born in the march of Brandenburg, in 1499. From being a Franciscan friar, he became a zealous disciple of Luther, whose doctrines he propagated with ardour, first at Stralsund, and afterwards at Hamburg, where he was ecclesiastical inspector, and pastor of the church of St Peter. He died in 1553. —*Melch. Adam. Vit. Theol.*

AERIUS. This heresiarch, who was born in the 4th century, was a native of Pontus or Lesser Armenia. He was a friend of Eustathius, who, about the year 355, was consecrated to the see of Sebaste, in Lesser Armenia. The elevation of Eustathius to the episcopate excited the jealousy of Acrius, and, all the endeavours of Eustathius to conciliate him were of no avail. Acrius openly quarrelled with his bishops, and as schism leads to heresy, he broached the heresy that there is no difference, by divine appointment, between the offices of a bishop and a presbyter. He also asserted that the keeping of Easter was unnecessary, Christ, our passover, having been slain for us. He condemned the practice of fasting upon appointed days, regarding fasts and festivals as mere Jewish rites. He ridiculed also the then prevailing practice of praying for the dead: for if the prayers of the living, he said, “will advantage the dead, then it was no matter for being pious or virtuous; a man only needed to get his friends to pray for him after death, and he would be liable to no punishment, nor would his most enormous crimes be required of him.” To this argument, which might be advanced against all intercessory prayer, Epiphanius replied, “that they had many good reasons for mentioning the names of the dead: because it was an argument of our belief that they



were still in being and living in the Lord; and because, it put a distinction between the perfection of Christ and the imperfection of all other men: therefore they prayed for righteous men, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, bishops, hermits, and all orders of men." Tertullian says, that "every woman prayed for the soul of her deceased husband, desiring he might find rest and refreshment at present, and a part in the first resurrection." In the ancient liturgies they prayed for the saints, the Virgin Mary not excepted. The saints and martyrs were in the ancient church prayed *for*, not as in the modern church of Rome, prayed *to*. These things are mentioned, that it may not be supposed that when we admit that the practice prevailed of praying for the dead, it is at the same time admitted that the Romish doctrine of purgatory then existed. Romish controversialists would fain persuade men that prayers for the dead imply a belief in the doctrine of purgatory, but archbishop Usher observes and proves that in so doing "they reckon without their host, and greatly mistake the matter." They prayed for those who were supposed to be in a place of rest and happiness, and not in any place of purgation and torment; they prayed even for the Virgin Mary, thereby shewing that they did not regard her as immaculate, or as raised as yet beyond the possibility of receiving accessions of blessedness, in answer to the prayers of her fellow-creatures. Rejecting, as the primitive Christians did, the Romish doctrine of supererogatory works, they justly conceived that all men died with some remnant of frailty and corruption, and therefore desired that God would deal with them according to His mercy, and not in strict justice according to their merits. And whereas the soul is but in an imperfect state of happiness, until the resurrection, when the whole man will obtain a complete victory over death, and, by the last judgment, be established in an endless state of consummate happiness and glory, the Church had a particular respect to this in her prayers for the righteous, that both the living and the

dead might finally attain the blessed estate of a glorious resurrection. They prayed in short for the righteous because they believed that in hades, (the hell of the creed,) their happiness is not complete, but admits of increase. Many of them prayed for the dead because they believed in the millenium, and desired that their friends might partake of the first resurrection; but there is no allusion whatever to purgatory. At the time of the reformation, however, the very mischievous and untrue doctrine of purgatory, as held in the Romish church, prevailing in the Church of England, and being connected in men's minds with prayers for the dead, our reformers wisely removed all prayers for the departed from our liturgy, but left men to act in private as they might think proper, no censure on the practice being pronounced.

Of the time of Aetius's death we have no account, nor did his heresy prevail to any great extent.—*Epiphanius de Hæres. Bingham, book xv. chap. 3.*

AETIUS, the founder of the anomæans, was born in the 4th century. He was a native of Antioch; his father, who had an office under the governor of the province, dying when he was a child, he was made the servant of a vine-dresser; after which he became, according to some authorities, a goldsmith, and according to others a travelling tinker. He afterwards betook himself to the study of physic, and thence proceeded to the study of theology under Paulinus, the semi-arian bishop of Antioch. He asserted his principles so strongly, and carried them out so consistently to their legitimate but most impious results, that the successor of Paulinus, himself a semi-arian, forced him to retire to Anazarbus. Here he became connected with a teacher of grammar, with whom he soon after quarrelled, but was received into the house of the bishop of Anazarbus, who had been one of the arian prelates at the council of Nice.

But the bishop of Anazarbus was not calculated to control the impetuous disposition of Aetius, who, easily

perceiving his worldliness of mind and want of theological knowledge, placed himself under the tuition of an arian priest of Tarsus, with whom he read the epistles of St Paul. He afterwards studied at Antioch and Alexandria; and was ordained deacon by Leontius, bishop of Antioch, in 350. But for some cause or other the very prelate who ordained him soon after deposed him from the diaconate, and then for many years his history is unknown, except that he was implicated in the political offences of Gallus the brother of Julian. By George of Cappadocia he was allowed to officiate as a deacon; and in the synod of Constantinople he was ordained a bishop in 361; but the name of the see to which he was appointed is unknown.

He died at Constantinople in 366. He, with his followers, held that the Son was not begotten of the Father, but created by him out of nothing, and that He is dissimilar (*ἀνόμοιος*,) to the Father in essence and in every other respect, hence they were called anomæans.—*Socrates. Sozomen. Epiphanius. Newman's history of the Arians.*

**AGELNOTH** He was twenty-ninth archbishop of Canterbury, and lived in the time of king Canute, having been advanced to the primacy of our church in 1020. Godwin *de præsulibus* has collected all that is known of him, and his account is here given.

“Agelnoth, surnamed the good, was the son of an earl called Agelmare, and is said to have been dean of Christ church in Canterbury, which at that time was replenished for the most part with canons wearing the habit and garments of monks, but in profession and manner of life differing much from them. Therefore when, as in that same terrible tithing of the Danes mentioned in the life of Elphege, all the monks were slain except only four; the canons that were now the greater number, gave unto their governor the name of dean. From this place Agelnoth was taken to be archbishop. Going to Rome to fetch his pall, he bought (as one reporteth) an arm of that



blessed father St Augustine, bishop of Hippo, for an hundred talents of silver, and bestowed it upon the church of Coventry. He sustained great pains and cost in repairing his church and monastery destroyed and burnt by the Danes ; and by his good advice directed king Canute (that favoured him exceedingly) unto many honourable enterprises. He died at last having sate archbishop seventeen years and upward, October 29, anno 1038."

AGNELLI. A native of Pisa, where he was born about A.D. 1194 ; and becoming in early youth acquainted with Francis of Assisi, was by him first appointed warden of the newly erected convent of his followers at Paris, but shortly afterwards sent, with the title of provincial minister, to found the order of Franciscan friars in England. This mission landed at Dover in the month of September, 1224, consisting of nine persons, four being in some of the ministerial orders of the Church, the other five laymen. Among the clergymen was Richard Ingleby, an English presbyter, who, having become a convert to the principles of Francis at a late period of life, laboured very diligently to promote them at home and abroad. He was afterwards provincial minister of the order in Ireland, and at length, when the time of active labour was past, went in his old age on a pilgrimage to Syria, where he died.

Agnelli and his companions were all rigid emulators of the strict poverty enjoined on his disciples by Francis of Assisi. Having been conveyed over into England by the charitable aid of the monks of Fescamp in Normandy, they proceeded from Dover to Canterbury, where the provincial minister remained to establish the order in that Christian capital of the southern province, while Ingleby with three of the party proceeded to try their fortunes in London. Their coarse dress, a frock of grey girt with a cord round the waist, and their poor penurious fare, oat-cake and black beer,—the meanness of their dwellings, which they hired for themselves, or built where a small plot of

ground could be obtained, and in which they performed divine service at the canonical hours,—and above all, the contrast which this manifest voluntary poverty afforded to the wealth and stately abodes and splendid churches of the monks,—all tended to make this new kind of religion extremely popular. Some eminent persons in Kent, as Simon Langton, archdeacon of Canterbury, brother of the archbishop Stephen Langton, and other clergy, and the ladies of some noble houses, became active patrons of the order. Some of the most wealthy London citizens were also very bountiful in their contributions to it; and a site was soon procured for a Grey Friary on the spot where a far nobler charity is now established, the school of Christ's Hospital.

Before Agnelli found himself at liberty to follow his friends to London, Ingleby and another had proceeded to Oxford, where they were not long in gaining an establishment in the parish of St Ebbe's. "Here," says the Franciscan historian, Thomas of Eccleston, "the blessed Jesus sowed for them a grain of mustard-seed, which afterwards became greater than all the herbs." He had some reason for this boast, when we recollect what eminent scholars, divines, and philosophers, were among the first scholars or teachers of the Franciscan school at Oxford; such as the great Roger Bacon, John Peckham, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and the excellent Robert Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln.

The Franciscans soon obtained a footing also in Cambridge; and planted missions in the principal towns in all parts of England. Within about thirty years after their first arrival they had set up convents in ninety-nine places, and numbered 1242 professed friars, most of whom strictly kept to the rule of mendicancy.

As to Agnelli himself, he died at Oxford at an early period of the mission, worn out by fatigue in a journey he had undertaken in the service of Henry III. into the marches of Wales, which brought on a dysentery and asthma. He made a Christian end, calling in the inter-

vals of his pains, "Veni, dulcissime Jesu;" and, according to a story currently reported by his admirers, his coffin was found some time after his death full of the purest oil; a story like that which some weak person has lately been reprinting about St Walburga. It is indeed of the same character as a thousand others invented and circulated in the decline of the middle ages.

Agnelli was very strict in forbidding all cost and superfluous ornament in public buildings. We read that in his time, a warden of a convent in Gloucestershire was stripped of his cowl for having ornamented his pulpit with painting, and admitted painted glass into the windows of his chapel. Agnelli's mantle seems to have descended upon another zealous priest of Gloucestershire, a sworn enemy of church ornaments in the present day. But, as it was well said by bishop Hall, "there have been some in all ages, who, out of a misgrounded humility and pretended mortification, have affected a willing disrespect of all outward accommodations in the public service of God,—placing a kind of merit in slovenly buildings of sticks and clay."—*Eccleston de Adventu Minorum in Angliam*, MS. *Brit. Mus. and York Minster Lib.*

AGNELLO, ANDREW, archbishop of Ravenna, in the 9th century. He wrote the lives of his predecessors in that see, which work was printed by Bacchini, in 1708, with notes, 2 vols 4to. It contains some curious facts, and is remarkable for the independence with which the author acted towards the church of Rome, at that time beginning to exercise that usurped dominion over other churches, which was attended with such disastrous consequences.

AGOBARD was born in the 9th century, and is supposed to have been a Frenchman, but this is not certain. Leidrade, archbishop of Lyons, ordained him priest in 804, and nine years after appointed him coadjutor of his diocese. In 816, Leidrade retired to a monastery at Soissons, and Agobard was appointed his successor. He enjoyed his see very quietly for some years, but was at length expelled



from it by Lewis the Debonnaire, having espoused the cause of his son Lotharius, and having been one of the chief authors in deposing Lewis in the assembly at Compiègne, in 833. Agobard, who had retired to Italy with the other bishops of his party, was summoned three times before the council, and not appearing, was deposed. His cause was again examined in the year 836, at an assembly held at Stranias, near Lyons, but was left undetermined, on account of the absence of the bishops. But the sons of Lewis having at length been reconciled to him, they got Agobard restored, and he was present at an assembly held at Paris in 838, by order of the emperor; nay, he even became a favourite with the emperor, in whose service he died at Xaintonge, the 5th of June, 840. Agobard had no less share in the affairs of the church than the empire. Of his theological works the principal is the "*Liber adversum dogma Felicis*," written against Felix, bishop of Urzel, and the adoptionists. By Felix, in addition to other errors, that of a modified Nestorianism was revived. Among other things he blames Felix for teaching, that although the Virgin Mary be the mother of God, yet is she otherwise the mother of the man than of God. He says, that this expression is new and impious; that the Virgin cannot be, in one way the mother of the Godhead, and in another of the manhood in Christ Jesus, since she was the mother of a God-man at the same time, and the divinity and humanity make but one person in Jesus Christ. He also wrote various treatises against the Jews who were numerous at Lyons. At this period the attempt was first made to obtain the sanction of the church for the worship of images; of which controversy an account will be given in the life of Alcuin. Agobard wrote so strongly against the images, that at a later period his collective works were visited by the censure of the inquisition. In writing against Felix, Agobard admitted that Felix led a very holy life; but he says we must not judge of a man's faith by the holiness of his life, but rather of his life by his faith.—*Dupin*.

AGRICOLA, JOHN. This distinguished protestant, the founder of the Antinomians, was born at Eisleben, on the 20th of April, 1492. His real name was Schnitter, or Reaper, which he latinized according to the custom of the day. He studied at Wittenberg, where he embraced the opinions of Luther, and was honoured by the friendship of that celebrated reformer, whom he accompanied to Leipsic in 1519, where he attended the great meeting of German theologians held in that city. In 1525 he was appointed, through the influence Luther, to settle the spiritual affairs of Frankfort on the Main, and soon after he was made court preacher to John, elector of Saxony, whom he accompanied in 1526 to the diet of Spire. In 1530 he became court preacher to count Albert of Mansfield, and in 1537 returned to Wittenberg. It was now that he distinguished himself by boldly carrying out the principles of Luther to their legitimate results, thereby incurring the enmity of his former friend. He asserted that nothing is required for salvation but faith in Christ: he rejected the moral authority even of the ten commandments; maintaining that the law ought not to be proposed to the people as a rule of manners, nor used in church as a means of instruction: that repentance ought not to be preached from the decalogue, but only from the gospel: that the gospel is to be inculcated and explained both in churches and in schools of learning; and that good works do not promote our salvation, or evil works hinder it. Although in maintaining these points, as the necessary consequence of the principles he had learned from Luther, he excited the wrath of that celebrated character, Agricola obtained among protestants many supporters of his views, who were called by Luther Antinomians, a name derived from the greek words *αντι* against, and *νομος* a law.

Nothing could exceed the violence of Luther against his former friend, although it is difficult to understand why the exercise of private judgment, and an unflinching adherence to its conclusions, should be a merit in Luther,

and a crime in Agricola. But whether Luther or Agricola were right in their different views of justification, Agricola was obliged to fly to Berlin, where he became court preacher to the elector of Brandenburg. The elector of Brandenburg endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, but he could avail nothing in the affair except upon one of these two conditions; that Agricola should return and await the decision of judges appointed by the elector of Saxony; or that he should deliver in writing a recantation of his errors, and of the injurious aspersions he had thrown out against Luther: as it was not to be tolerated that the father of the German reformation should be spoken of disrespectfully by one who ought to have been his follower. Agricola chose the latter alternative, and published a book at Berlin, in which he asked pardon of those whom he had offended, and especially of Luther. But Luther would not give credit to his protestations, though Agricola styled him "that man of God." Agricola therefore remained at Berlin, and was one of the three persons appointed to draw up the interim in 1548. He died on the 22nd of September, 1566. The reader is referred to the lives of Luther and Melancthon.—*Seckendorf. Melchior Adam. Mosheim.*

AGRICOLA, MICHAEL, bishop of Abo, in Finland, was the first who translated the New Testament into the language of that country; printed at Stockholm in 1548. He died in 1557.—*Gen. Dict.*

AGUIRRE, JUAN SAENS DE, a native of Logrono, in Spain. He was born the 24th of March, 1630, and took the degree of doctor of divinity at the university of Salamanca in 1668, where he became a benedictine monk. He afterwards became censor and secretary of the supreme council of the inquisition in Spain, and chief interpreter of the Scriptures in the university of Salamanca. He was for some time abbot of the college of St Vincent, and was made a cardinal by pope Innocent XI. in 1686. The first



work which he published was his “*Laura theologiæ sive Ludi Salmanticenses*,” printed in the year 1668; this consisted of dissertations, which he wrote, according to the custom of the university of Salamanca, before he received his degree of doctor of divinity. In 1671, he published three volumes in folio upon philosophy; and in 1675, a commentary upon Aristotle’s ten books of ethics. In 1677, he published a treatise upon the virtues and vices, or disputations upon Aristotle’s moral philosophy: in this work he proceeds upon the principles of natural light, and maintains in it the doctrine of probability. He applied himself next to the study of St Anselm’s works, upon whose principles he composed several volumes. He published also a large collection of all the councils of Spain and the New World. His *defensio Cathedræ S. Petri* was written in reply to the assembly of the Gallican church, and procured him his cardinal’s hat. In it he contended for all the usurpations of the see of Rome, and carried his notions of the papal prerogative so very high, that it was condemned by the church of Spain as well as by the church of France: these two churches at that time taking an independent line, and maintaining their rights as national churches against the usurpations of Rome.—*Dupin. Moreri. Gen. Dict.*

AIDAN, or CÆDAN, bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, originally a monk of Iona, one of the islands called Hebrides. Oswald, king of Northumberland, in 635, being a prince zealously attached to the Christian religion, was desirous to convert his subjects from their paganism and idolatry. For this purpose he sent to Scotland, where he himself, in his banishment, had imbibed the doctrines of Christianity, for some person to instruct his subjects: for although the people of Northumbria had been converted a short time before by Paulinus, first archbishop of York, they had generally returned to paganism, when that prelate, in 633, was driven out of the country, by the successful invasion of the Mercians under Penda. The Scotch clergy imme-

diately dispatched a missionary named Colman: but this ecclesiastic being of a rigid and severe temper, was very disagreeable to the English; so that finding himself unsuccessful in his mission, he returned to Scotland, and reported in the synod, that the English were an untractable barbarous people, bigotted to paganism, and therefore it was impossible to do them any service. The monks deliberated what steps ought to be taken, when Aidan addressed the unsuccessful missionary thus: "It appears to me, brother, that you have made no progress, because you were more severe than was proper with ignorant hearers, and did not, according to the apostolic custom, first feed them with the milk of mild doctrine, until they were able to receive the more perfect law, and keep the purer precepts of God." The impression made on the assembly by this specimen of moderation at once induced them to offer the appointment to Aidan, who accepted it, and was immediately consecrated. On his coming to Oswald's court, he prevailed upon the king to remove the episcopal see from York to Lindisfarne or Holy Island. He was very successful in his preaching, and in this was much assisted by the king, who, during his residence in Scotland, having acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Scotch language, himself became Aidan's interpreter, and explained his discourses to the nobility and the rest of his court. Several of Aidan's countrymen came also to his assistance, and preached with great zeal in Oswald's dominions. By this means Christianity made considerable progress, and churches were built in several places; lands also were granted by the king for the support of monasteries, and many of the English put themselves under the discipline of those religious societies. The province of York was thus indebted, not to the see of Rome, but to the zeal of the Scottish missionaries, for its conversion to Christianity.

After the death of Oswald, who was slain in battle, Aidan continued to govern the church of Northumberland, under Oswin and Oswi, who reigned jointly. Bede tells

the following story concerning Oswin and Aidan: Oswin had given Aidan a fine horse; some time after, the bishop happening to meet a poor man upon the road, who begged his charity, dismounted and gave him the horse with all the rich furniture. The king hearing this, was displeased, and the next time the bishop came to dine with him, accosted him in these words—"My lord, why did you make so little of my favour, as to give away my horse to a beggar? If you must set him on horseback, could you not have furnished him with one of less value? or if he wanted any other relief, you might have supplied him another way, and not have parted so easily with the present I made you." The bishop replied, "Your majesty seems not fully to have considered the matter, otherwise you would not set a greater value on the son of a mare than on a son of God." At this time no more passed, and they sat down to dinner. Not long after, the king coming from hunting, when the bishop was at court, he threw aside his sword, and falling at the bishop's feet, desired he would not take amiss what he had said about the horse, assuring him at the same time, that he would never again venture to censure his charity. The bishop being disturbed to see the king in that posture, raised him up, and desired him not to be uneasy about the matter. And now the bishop appeared melancholy, and wept much; and being asked the cause of his tears, by one of his priests, he told him that he foresaw Oswin's life would be but short, "for in my life (says he) I never saw so humble a prince before; his temper is too heavenly to dwell among us, and the nation does not deserve the blessing of such a governor." Aidan proved a true prophet, for the king was soon after treacherously slain. Aidan preserved the independence of the Northumbrian church, not conforming to the church of Rome, as is evident from the fact of his being what is called a quartodeciman. By this term it is not meant to imply that he kept Easter on any day but Sunday, but only that he included the 14th day of the moon, and excluded the 21st, as days on which it might or might not be kept. That an univer-



sal rule was important when the ordinances of the gospel were strictly kept, is fully admitted ; the southern part of this island having been converted by Italian missionaries, and the northern by Scottish and Irish missionaries, inconvenience arose from the fact that some people were feasting and some fasting at the same time, each party blaming the other. It was well to come to an agreement, but the fact that a difference did exist is valuable, as shewing the independence not only of the British churches, but of a portion of the Anglo-Saxon church, on the see of Rome.

Aidan died in 651. The following is the account which is given of him by Bede:—"From this isle of Icombkil, and from this monastery founded by St Columban, as we have just now observed, Aidan was sent to instruct England in the faith of Christ, having been raised to the dignity of a bishop, at the time when Segenius, a priest, governed that monastery as abbot; in which, amongst other documents which he gave of holy living, he left the most illustrious examples to the clergy of abstinence and continency. But, after his departure from that monastery, the circumstance which chiefly recommended the doctrine which he preached to his hearers was, that he taught them nothing more than what he had first practised. He neither sought nor esteemed any thing which this world can afford, but delighted in distributing immediately, among the poor, whatever he received from the liberality of kings or other opulent persons. He used to go about all the neighbouring towns and villages on foot, and never on horseback, unless compelled by some urgent necessity; and wheresoever he met any persons in the way, whether they were rich or poor, he immediately accosted them, if he could find an opportunity, and exhorted them to embrace the Christian religion, if they were infidels, or if they were Christians, he endeavoured to strengthen them in the faith, and admonished them of the necessity of giving alms, and of performing other good works, both by his words and example. His course of life was so different from the slothfulness of our times, that all

those who accompanied him, whether they were monks, clergymen, or laymen, were constantly employed, either in holy meditation, or in reading the scriptures, or in learning psalms. This was the daily exercise of him and of all the brethren who were with him, whithersoever they went, and if it happened, which was but seldom, that he was invited to dine with the king, he took with him one or two other clergymen; and after he had taken very little refreshment, hastened away with them, to employ himself in praying or reading. Many religious men and women, excited to fervour by his example, began the devout custom of fasting till three o'clock in the afternoon, every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, excepting the fifty days which occur between Easter and Whitsuntide.

“If he heard of any faults committed by persons who were opulent, he never, through human respect or pusillanimity failed to remind them of them, but sharply rebuked them for them, whenever he entertained any hopes of their amendment. He never sought to gain the favour or friendship of men in power by making presents to them. When he received any money from rich people, he either, as we before observed, distributed it amongst the indigent, or employed it in redeeming such as had been unjustly sold, and were detained in bondage. In short, he afterwards gave a good education to many of those whom he had ransomed by paying the price demanded for their liberation, and after performing the office of a preceptor to them till they had acquired a sufficient degree of erudition, he ordained some of them priests.”—*Bede Hist. Eccles. Gent. Ang. Lib. iii. cap. 3.*

AILLY, PETER D', was born in Compeigne, in 1350, and distinguished himself in the college of Navarre, at Paris, which he entered in 1372. He was early distinguished as an author, especially for his exposition of the “Sentences of Peter Lombard,” in 1375. He was made doctor in 1380, and four years after grand master of the college of Navarre. The prevailing controversy of the time was

that which existed between the realists and nominalists, in which he was a disputant in favour of the latter. He was appointed to plead at Avignon, before pope Clement VII. the cause of the university of Paris against Jean de Montesson, in opposition to whom he maintained the immaculate Conception. He was afterwards appointed successively to the episcopal sees of Puy and Cambray. To him we are indirectly indebted for the festival of Trinity Sunday, still observed in the Church of England, in common with all the churches of the west: for this festival was instituted by Benedict XIII, in consequence of a powerful sermon on the Holy Trinity preached before him at Genoa by Peter d'Ailly. His next care was to extinguish the schism which prevailed in the Roman church; and he brought about the convocation of a council at Pisa, in 1408. At this he greatly distinguished himself by his wisdom and prudence, and two years subsequently was raised to the dignity of cardinal by John XXIII. and sent into Germany in quality of legate. It may here be observed, that the council of Pisa was assembled, by the authority of the cardinals, to terminate the schism in the papacy. No decrees were made in matters of faith and discipline.

But it was by the part he acted in the council of Constance that this prelate rendered his name so celebrated. The synod of Constance was assembled by John XXIII in 1414, and consisted of 250 latin bishops. It decreed that a general council was superior to the pope, deposed one of the rival popes, obliged the other to relinquish his office, and elected a new pope. (For the conduct pursued in this council against John Huss, the reader is referred to the article on his life.) This was not a general council, as the oriental churches were not represented at it; nor is it generally accounted œcumenical by Roman theologians; but it is well known as the council which deprived the laity in the western church of the cup in the Holy Sacrament. In the 13th session it asserted that, "*although in the primitive church this sacrament was received by the faithful under*



*both kinds*, yet to avoid any dangers and scandals it should be received by the laity under one kind only." It may be observed that the council of Constance only prohibited the restoration of the ancient custom by private individuals without the authority of the church; and that therefore, even on the principles of this synod, national churches are *entirely free from censure*, in putting an end to the custom of receiving in one kind. At this council Peter d'Ailly bore, as we have said, a distinguished part. He presided over the third session, and decided that the retreat of John XXIII, who had fled from Constance in disguise, did not affect the authority of the council. He asserted the authority of councils over the papacy, and the necessity of a reformation of the church. And he preached before the council at its opening. His text was from St Luke, "And there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the stars." He told the council that the pope was the sun; the emperor the moon, because he presides over the night, that is, in temporal affairs; and the different orders of ecclesiastics the stars. With regard to the signs or wonders, he found them in the council, which he considered as the heaven, in which were the sun, moon, and stars, and which ought to present the world with the agreeable prospect of the reformation and union of the church. He reduces to three heads all that was necessary for the council to deliberate upon; that is, the reformation of the church, the union, and the good government of it; and some precautions to prevent schisms and other disorders. As he is of opinion that nothing but a general council can reduce the church to such a state, he concludes that it is a pernicious error of the flatterers of the pope, when they have the confidence to detract so far from the authority of the council as to say that the pope is not obliged to follow their resolutions, and that his judgment is to be followed, though it be contrary to that of the council. "This opinion, (says he), is founded upon nothing but some decretals which are misunderstood, and some positive laws which have been introduced in opposition to the law of

nature and of God, and to the prejudice of the church." He died at Avignon in 1420. His works consist of his *Traité de la Réforme de l'Eglise*. His *Concordantia Astronomiæ cum Theologia et Concordantia Astronomiæ cum Historia*, (Vienna, 1490,) in which he considers the revolutions of empires and religion in conjunction with the planets, and supposes that the deluge, the advent of the Saviour, and the miracles, were all foretold by the aid of astronomy. His treatises and discourses were printed at Strasburg, 1490; his life of pope Celestin V. at Paris, 1539; and his *Meteores* at Strasburg, 1504, and Vienna, 1509. His treatise on the reform of the church is to be found also in Brown's *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum, &c.* vol. i.—*L. Enfant, Hist. of the Council of Constance. Dupin. Moreri.*

AILRED, or EALRED, abbot of Rieveaulx, in Yorkshire, in the reigns of king Stephen and Henry II. He was born of a noble family, in the year 1109, and educated in Scotland along with Henry, son of David, king of the Scots. Upon his return to England he took the habit of the Cistercian monastery of Rieveaulx, where, on account of his extraordinary piety and learning, he was soon raised to the dignity of abbot. He was much given to study and contemplation, which made him love retirement, and induced him to refuse many offers of ecclesiastical preferment. He left behind him several monuments of his learning, in writing of which he is said to have been assisted by Walter Daniel, a monk of the same convent. Ailred died the 12th of January, 1166, aged fifty-seven years, and was buried in his monastery. Ailred was a voluminous writer, but many of his works remain unpublished. Some of them are historical, as his histories of the war of the standard, under king Stephen, and of David, king of Scotland:—others biographical, as his lives of Edward the confessor, and of St Margaret, queen of Scotland;—and many of them theological. His history of the war of the standard, his genealogy of the kings of England,

(including the life of David,) the life of Edward the confessor, and the story of the nun of Watton, are printed in the *Decem Scriptores*, by Roger Twysden. His life of St Margaret was printed by Surius. Some of Ailred's theological pieces were printed at Douay, in 1631, and were afterwards inserted in the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, vol v. and in the 23rd volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. —*Leland. Biog. Brit.*

AINSWORTH, HENRY. One of the earliest leaders of the sect now called independents, but at first styled from their founder Brownists, was a man of learning and a distinguished Hebraist. Of his history till 1593 we know nothing; we find him then connected with a congregation founded at Amsterdam by the Brownists, or independents, and associated with a person of the name of Johnson, in conjunction with whom he published, in 1602, “a confession of faith of the people called Brownists.” The principles of these people were of course different then from what they are now, for now they hold the right of private judgment; but no one who holds the right of private judgment has a right to force his private judgment upon others. The right of private judgment cannot co-exist with the right of enforcing confessions and articles of faith. Johnson and Ainsworth soon quarrelled, and Johnson was so resolutely bent on forcing his own private judgment upon others, that, for not agreeing with him in opinion, he excommunicated his own father and brother. In vain did the presbytery of Amsterdam try to mediate between the parties. The congregation was divided, part adhering to Ainsworth, who excommunicated Johnson and his friends, while another party sided with Johnson, and excommunicated Ainsworth and his friends. The contest became at length so violent, that Johnson and his followers removed to Embden, where he died soon after. But Ainsworth and his adherents did not long continue to live in Christian charity, for he soon after left them and retired to Ireland; but he afterwards returned to Amsterdam. His death was



not without suspicion of violence: having accidentally found a diamond of great value, he advertised it, and its owner, a jew, offered him any gratuity he might desire. Though poor, Ainsworth only asked that he would obtain for him a conference with some of his rabbis, upon the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messiah; this the jew promised, but not having sufficient influence, it was thought that, to save his own reputation, he caused the Christian preacher to be poisoned. His Annotations on the Psalms were printed in 1612, 4to; on the Pentateuch, 2 vols 4to. 1621; and again in 1627 (folio) and 1639. Among his controversial treatises is a counterpoison against Bernard and Crashaw; 1608 (4to.) and 1612. Bishop Hall answered this tract. The differences among the early sectarians of the reformation are thus described by Dr Heylin: "Worse fared it with the brethren of the separation (says he) who had retired themselves unto Amsterdam, in the former reign, than with their first founders and forefathers, in the Church of England; for having broken in sunder the bond of peace, they found no possibility of preserving the spirit of unity, one separation growing continually on the neck of another, till they were crumbled into nothing. The brethren of the first separation had found fault with the Church of England for reading prayers and homilies as they lay in the book, and not admitting the presbytery to take place amongst them. But the brethren of the second separation take as much distaste against retaining all set forms of hymns and psalms, committing their conceptions, both in praying, and prophesying, and singing of psalms, to the help of memory; and then subjoin this maxim, in which all agreed, that is to say, that there is the same reason of helps in all the parts of spiritual worship, as is to be admitted in any one during the performing of that worship. Upon which ground, they charge it home on their fellow-separatists, that as in prayer the book is to be laid aside, by the confession of the ancient brethren of the separation, so must it also be in prophesying and singing of

psalms ; and therefore, whether we pray, or sing, or prophecy, it is not to be from the book, but out of the heart. For prophesying, next they tell us, that the spirit is quenched in two manner of ways, by memory as well as reading. And to make known how little use there is of memory in the act of prophesying or preaching, they tell us, that the citing of chapter and verse (as not being used by Christ and his apostles, in their sermons or writings) is a mark of anti-christ. And as for psalms, which make the third part of spiritual worship, they propose these queries : 1. Whether in a psalm a man must be tied to metre, and rhyme, and tune ; and whether voluntary be not as necessary in tune and words, as well as matter ? And, 2. Whether metre, rhyme, and tune be not quenching the spirit ? According to which resolution of the new separation, every man, when the congregation shall be met together, may first conceive his own matter in the act of praising, deliver it in prose or metre as he lists himself, and in the same instant chant out, in what tune soever, that which comes first into his head, which would be such a horrible confusion of tongues and voices, that hardly any howling or gnashing of teeth can be equal to it. Finally, as to forms of government, they declared thus : that as they who live under the tyranny of the pope and cardinals, worship the very beast itself ; and they who live under the government of archbishops, do worship the image of the beast ; so they which willingly obey the reformed presbytery of pastors, elders, and deacons, worship the shadow of that image. In this posture stood the brethren of the separation anno 1606, when Smith first published his book of the present differences between the churches of the separation ; but afterwards there arose another great dispute between Ainsworth and Broughton, whether the colour of Aaron's linen ephod were of blue or of sea-water green ; which did not only trouble all the dyers of Amsterdam, but draw their several followers into sides and factions."—Heylin's history of the presbyterians, p. 378, 379,—*Biog. Brit.* Heylin.

AIRAY, HENRY, was born in Westmoreland in 1559, and educated under Bernard Gilpin, known as the northern apostle, and by him sent to St Edmund's hall in 1579. He was subsequently chosen fellow of Queen's college. He entered into holy orders; took the degree of B.D.; was elected provost, and in 1606 vice-chancellor; and published several theological works. 1. Lectures upon the whole epistle of St Paul to the Philippians; London, 1618, 4to. 2. The just and necessary apology touching his suit in law, for the rector of Charlton on Otmore in Oxfordshire; London, 1621, 8vo. 3. A treatise against bowing at the name of Jesus. His conduct as vice-chancellor has been alluded to before, (see life of Abbot), and is thus described by Dr Heylin: "In 1606, Laud was questioned by Dr Airay, being vice-chancellor for that year, for a sermon preached in St Marie's church on the 26th of October, as containing in it sundry scandalous and popish passages; the good man taking all things to be matter of popery which were not held forth unto him in Calvin's institutes, conceiving that there was as much idolatry in bowing at the name of Jesus, as in worshipping the brassen serpent, and as undoubtedly believing that anti-christ was begotten on the whore of Babylon, as that Pharez and Zarah were begotten on the body of Tamar."—Heylin's Laud, p. 54. *Biog. Brit. Heylin.*

ALABASTER, WILLIAM, born at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, about the year 1567. He took his degree of M.A. at Trinity college, Cambridge, and in 1592 entered *ad eundem* at Oxford. In June, 1596, he attended the earl of Essex, as his chaplain, in the expedition to Cadiz, in the reign of queen Elizabeth. When he was abroad, he began to form thoughts of going over to Romanism, dazzled with the pomp of the Romish churches, and the respect which seemed to be paid to the priests; whilst he was wavering in his mind, there were certain persons who took advantage of this disposition of his, and of the complaints which he made of not being ad-



vanced according to his merit, in England, so that they soon prevailed upon him to embrace the popish religion. But after he had joined the Romish communion, he found nothing to answer his expectations. He was soon disgusted, nor could he reconcile himself to the discipline of a church, which made no account of the degrees he had before taken ; and it is probable, too, that he could not approve of the worship of creatures, which he had been accustomed to look upon with horror. He therefore returned to England in 1610, and was reconciled to the church of England. He was made a prebendary in St Paul's, and soon after was appointed to the rectory of Therfield in Hertfordshire. He made great proficiency in what is termed cabalistic learning, which consists in the combination of particular words, letters, and numbers, by which it is pretended you can see clearly into the sense of scripture. He died 1640 ; and left the following works : 1. Lexicon pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, &c ; London, 1637, folio. 2. Commentarius de bestia apocalyptica ; 1621. As a poet he was highly applauded ; he wrote the latin tragedy of Roxana, of which Dr Johnson observes—"If we produced any thing worthy of notice before the elegies of Milton, it was, perhaps, Alabaster's Roxana." But according to Mr Hallam, Roxana was merely a translation from the Italian.—Fuller's *Worthies*. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*. *Biog. Brit.* Hallam's *Introduction to the Literary History of Europe*.

ALAN or ALLEN, WILLIAM, known in history as cardinal Alan, was born in 1532, at Rossall, in Lancashire. He entered Oriel college, Oxford, in 1547, and became a fellow in 1550. In 1556 he was appointed principal of St Mary hall, and in 1558 a canon of York. His strong conservative feelings, and dislike of all innovations, rendered him hostile to the reformation of the church of England, or to the mode of reforming the national church, which the authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, were adopting at the commencement of queen Elizabeth's reign, and he

therefore quitted his native land. In this he was not to be blamed, if he thought the reforming party wrong, and feared lest in seeking to correct abuses, they would destroy the ancient church, of which he, as well as they, were members; if he found principles predominate, which he reprobated in his heart, he was justified in seeking abroad the comfort which was denied him at home. And it is to be remembered that the reformers had no idea of toleration; with them, as with the Romish party in our church, when they possessed the power, there was no alternative, except that of submission or of punishment.

At Louvain he maintained himself by educating some English youths, the children of persons who, like himself, in terror of the reformers, had gone abroad. By his exertions as a master, or by the insalubrity of the climate, his health was injured, and he was advised to try his native air. He returned to England, residing first in Lancashire, and then going to Norfolk, where he found a friend in the duke of Norfolk, and afterwards to Oxford. His conduct was now most blameworthy; he not only spoke against the reformers, and denounced the reformation as an unjustifiable innovation upon the established usages of the church of England, but he tried to create a schism, and to persuade men to resist the orders of the Church, and to go back to their former practices. The reformers had retained what was absolutely catholic in our church, but had rejected, with the papal usurpations, what was peculiar and Romish; but Alan would not distinguish between Romanism and Catholicism. Having succeeded in perverting the mind of a young man at Oxford, he was, according to Anthony a Wood, so persecuted by the parents of the youth, who belonged to the reforming party, now in the ascendant, that he was forced to leave England, after he had continued here for three years.

He retired to a monastery at Mechlin, where, being as yet only in deacon's orders, he prepared himself for the priesthood. Here he published, in 1565, his "Defence

of the doctrine of [Roman] Catholics concerning purgatory and prayers for the dead," in answer to Jewell, bishop of Salisbury. But it was in the year 1568 that he did the most service to the cause he had at heart, by opening a seminary or college at Douay, for the education of English youths, whose parents objected to the reformation in England. He was aided powerfully by Dr Vendeville, regius professor in the newly established university of Douay, and afterwards bishop of Tournay. Although the college was founded with the schismatical purpose of training clergy who should be sent into England, to raise a hostile feeling against the Catholic Church now happily reformed in this country, it was likewise filled with the children of those who, not being able conscientiously to conform, had gone abroad, the remnant of the now almost annihilated conservatives. Alan took his D.D. degree in the university of Douay, and was appointed a canon in the church of Cambray. In 1575 he succeeded in obtaining from the pope a monthly allowance of a hundred crowns for his seminary, which in 1578 he removed from Douay to Rheims. It seems that he was compelled to this measure, the populace at Douay having taken alarm by supposing the English to be spies, only waiting an opportunity to put the town in a combustion; a jealousy of the English appears, even at that early period, to have existed in the minds of uneducated foreigners. The seminary did not return to Douay for fifteen years. The establishment continued to flourish at Rheims, of the church in which city Alan was made a canon; and, in spite of the remonstrances of queen Elizabeth, it received the countenance of government. In 1580, Alan was summoned to Rome to be consulted by the pope, who, in the preceding year, had endowed a college at Rome, similar to that at Rheims, and with the same intent,—that of training priests who might be prepared to establish a schism in England: and it was at the suggestion of Alan that the general of the jesuits determined to send a mission from that body into England, the first missionaries being Campian and Persons. By the mission of the



jesuits, and the exertions of the seminarists under Alan, queen Elizabeth was greatly alarmed, and she issued a proclamation forbidding her subjects to harbour a jesuit or seminarist, and commanding those whose children had been sent abroad for education, to recall them within four months. In self-defence she was compelled to this course ; for treason as well as schism was inculcated in the seminaries, though this was denied in the apology for the English seminarians, which Alan published in 1581.

The reforming party in England had shewn much more forbearance than had been exhibited when the Romish party, in the reign of queen Mary, had the ascendancy in our church : but their patience was now exhausted, and several of the Romish schismatics were executed. The Romanists had been, in the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Mary, the conservatives,—the persons who desired to keep things in church and state as they were ; but now, unable to bear depression, they had become treasonable in their practices, and the reformers had recourse to strong measures for their suppression. Lord Burleigh himself defended the execution of certain Roman catholics, in a work called “The Execution of Justice,” to which Alan published a reply, which excited a great sensation, and for bringing which into England, a person named Oldfield was executed, on a charge of high treason, in 1585.

When Philip II. of Spain, in 1587, was preparing the Armada for the invasion of England, he demanded of pope Sixtus V. that he should confer a cardinal’s hat upon Alan, that he might, on the success of the invasion, be ready to superintend the affairs of the English Church ; and on the 7th of August, 1587, Alan became a cardinal, with the title of St Martin in Montibus. He was now an open and avowed traitor to his country. He received from Philip a rich abbey in Spain, and in return became, not only a traitor, but a defender of treason in its vilest shape. Sir William Stanley had surrendered Davenport, a Dutch fort, to the Spaniards, and took with him into the Spanish service a regiment of 1300 men.

Alan published a tract defending this treason ; and had priests sent from Rheims to instruct the men in those Romish peculiarities which the catholic church of England had renounced. He went further. Under the direction of the pope, who was thus implicated in treason himself, cardinal Alan addressed the Romish party in England, invoking their assistance. In his "Admonition to the nobility and people of England," this English cardinal, under the direction of the pope of Rome, styled Elizabeth a usurper, an incestuous bastard, a heretic, a tyrant, steeped in lust : he called upon all English people to rise in favour of the Spaniards, and to liberate themselves from the disgrace of having "suffered such a creature almost thirty yeares together, to raigne both over their bodies and their soules to the extingueshing not only of religion, but of all chaste living and honesty." Such was the address which he, who styled himself the cardinal of England, thought it no disgrace in a Christian to publish. It may fairly be doubted whether its parallel can be found either in puritan or in popish publications.

By the glorious defeat of the Spanish Armada, Alan's treasonable designs upon England were frustrated, and he henceforth resided at Rome. As the reward of his treason, the king of Spain appointed him archbishop of Mechlin, but pope Sixtus V. would not permit him to reside. He continued to live at Rome in wealth and splendour, the recognized leader of what was called the Spanish party, that party of Englishmen who desired to place the English crown upon the head of the daughter of the king of Spain, whenever Elizabeth should be removed. Nothing could exceed the splendour of his household, the respect which was paid to him by his party as a theologian, or the influence he had with three successive popes. A hope indeed was held out that he would himself be elected pope.

As his end drew nigh he suffered from the reproaches of conscience ; and it was reported that he was poisoned by the jesuits, who were disgusted by what appeared to

them his backsliding: the jesuits in denying the charge, asserted that he had been poisoned by Dr Lewis, the bishop of Cassana, who hoped to succeed him as English cardinal. What a wretched condition was that of the English Romanists, who could report and believe these stories one of another! By their schism and their treason they had hardened their hearts! Whether by poison, or, as is more probable, in the course of nature, cardinal Alan died on the 6th of October, 1594. His character is of course drawn in very different colours by popish and protestant writers; the reader will judge for himself from the facts which have been recorded. His books are numerous: "The declaration of the sentence of pope Sixtus V." and "An admonition to the nobility and people of England," before alluded to: tracts on purgatory and prayers for the dead; on the power of the priesthood to remit sins; on confession; on indulgences; on the sacraments; worshipping saints, &c. &c: "the true, sincere, and modest defence of Christian catholics," printed in 1583, is considered his best work. He had also a principal share in the execution of the Roman catholic translation of the bible, commonly called the Douay bible, of which the new testament was published at Rheims.—Fitzherbert, *Epitome Vitæ Cardinalis Alani*. Dod's *Church History of England*. Wood's *Athenæ*. *Cambden*.

ALAN, of Lynn, flourished during the 15th century, and in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. He was born at Lynn in Norfolk, was educated at Cambridge, and took the degree of doctor there. He afterwards returned to his native place, where he entered the order of the Carmelites, and spent the rest of his life. Alan de Lynn was a most laborious writer. A long list of his summaries, or indexes, will be found in Tanner. He followed the taste which was common in his age, of expounding scripture allegorically. He was much distinguished among his contemporaries for his talent in preaching.—*Biog. Brit.*



ALASCO. See LASCO.

ALBAN, ST, the proto-martyr of our church, was an officer of the Roman troops, who resided at the Roman town of Verulam, the town which has since been called by his name. He was a heathen. A Christian priest fled to his house for protection from his pursuers. Struck with the devout demeanour of the holy man, Alban began to enquire into his religion; and enquiry led, by the grace of God, to conversion. In the meantime it was discovered that the priest was harbored in his house, and soldiers were sent to apprehend him: they were received by Alban in the cassock usually worn by the priest, and when the mistake was discovered, was brought before the magistrate. He confessed himself a Christian, was beaten with rods and sentenced to death. In going to the place of execution he had to cross the river Ver: the bridge was thronged with people eager to behold him, and he, eager to reach his destination before the end of the day, without waiting to have the bridge cleared, made his way incontinently through the river. This act of intrepidity and zeal had such an effect on the person appointed to be his executioner that, throwing away his sword, he asked to die with the prisoner. The request was granted, and about the year 285, these two Christians received the crown of martyrdom. The heathens were astonished; and the cause of Christianity gained ground. The Christians, who had fled to the woods, returned and began to rebuild their churches. Such are the general outlines of this history. We omit the account of the miracles which are said to have attended the martyrdom of St Alban, because the authority upon which they are given is questionable; but this is certain, that a church was erected near Verulam in honour of his memory; and in the 8th century Offa, king of Mercia, founded an abbey there.—*Bede. Biog. Brit.*

ALBERTUS MAGNUS, was born at Lauingen on the

upper Danube, probably in the year 1193, though by some authorities the date of his birth is placed as low as the year 1205. He studied at Paris and at Padua, but of his early years little is known until, in 1222, he was received into the order of the Dominicans. From that time he betook himself to the study of theology, and afterwards became himself a teacher in the various seminaries of his order. He was not stationary, but taught at Heldershem, Freiburg, Strasburg, and Cologne; at the latter place he had for his scholar the celebrated Thomas Aquinas.

In 1245 he repaired to Paris to take his doctor's degree, which could only be obtained after a residence for three years in the university, in the capacity of a teacher. On receiving his degree he returned to Cologne, which was his chief residence during the rest of his long and laborious life, and where he held the honorable office of senior regent of the Dominican seminary. He seems to have ingratiated himself with the people, who on several occasions appointed him as their representative in the disputes which arose between them and the archbishop of Cologne.

He spent the years 1255 and 1256 at Rome, whither he had reluctantly gone to plead the cause of the mendicant orders against the university of Paris, which cause pope Alexander IV. had undertaken to decide at the request of St Louis. While at Rome he delivered lectures, at the request of the pope and cardinals, on the gospel of St John and the canonical epistles.

In 1260, he was appointed bishop of Ratisbon, but it was sorely against his will, and in three years time he prevailed on Urban IV. to permit him to resign it. He returned with joy to his cell at Cologne, resuming his office of teacher; an office honorable at all times, but especially honored when books were few, and oral lectures therefore most important. He continued, however, occasionally to assist the archbishop of Cologne, and the bishops of Strasburg and Basil, in the discharge of their episcopal functions; a fact which shews from the practice

and principles of a remote age, that when our colonial bishops retire from the government of their own sees, as in one instance has been the case, they may render assistance, if required, to their episcopal brethren in England.

The warmth of his affection is proved by the fact that, in extreme old age, the venerable man left his favourite home, and went once more to Paris, to defend the memory of his distinguished pupil, Thomas Aquinas, who had been accused of heresy. This was in 1277, and on the 14th of November, 1280, he died.

Albertus was a man of the profoundest learning, and perhaps his learning overlaid his genius, and he was not so original a thinker as he might have been had his memory been less retentive. The second period of scholastic philosophy commenced with Albertus, his object being to combine in an intermediate system the opposite schools of the realists and nominalists. [See REALISTS and NOMINALISTS in Church Dictionary.] Like most persons who seek a *via media*, he offended both parties, although all persons agreed in veneration of his character, and in respect for his learning. No complete list of his works has yet been made. Pierre Jammi, a dominican, collected a great number of them, and published them in twenty-one volumes, folio, at Lyons, 1651. A catalogue of the different treatises printed in this collection, will be found in Fabricius. (Bibl. lat. med. et Inf. *Ætatis*, in *Albertus*.) The most extensive list of Albertus' writings which has yet been made, is given in the first volume of the *Scriptores ordinis prædicatorum*, by Quetif and Echard, where it extends through twelve pages in folio.—*Bayle. Biog. Universelle. Moreri.*

ALCOCK, JOHN, was born at Beverley in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge, where he took the degree of doctor of laws. In 1461 he obtained the deanery of St Stephen, Westminster, and the next year was appointed master of the rolls. Six years after, he obtained a prebend in Salisbury cathedral, and another in St Paul's. In 1470, he



was made a privy counsellor, and one of the ambassadors to the king of Castile. The year following he was a commissioner to treat with the king of Scotland; and about the same time was preferred to the bishopric of Rochester. In 1472 he was constituted lord-chancellor of the kingdom, which high office he held about ten months. In 1476 he was translated to the see of Worcester, and appointed lord president of Wales. He was preceptor to prince Edward, and was remarkable for the fidelity with which he trained the prince in virtue and religion. Indeed all are agreed to the excellence of bishop Alcock's private life; no man in England had a higher reputation for sanctity, his studies, abstinence, and virtue being mentioned by Bayle. On the accession of Henry VII, he was again made lord-chancellor, and in 1486, was translated to the bishopric of Ely. In 1488, he preached a sermon at St Mary's church in Cambridge, which lasted three hours. In Ely cathedral he built a beautiful chapel, and added the hall to the episcopal palace. Malvern church was rebuilt by him; and he enlarged Wesburg church. At Kingston upon Hull he founded a school, and built a chantry on the south side of Trinity church. He contributed to the building of St Mary's, Cambridge, and in that university he founded Jesus college. He died October 1st, 1500, at Wisbeach, and was buried in Ely cathedral. He wrote several small works:—"Mons perfectionis." "Abbatia Spiritûs Sancti." "Homileæ vulgares." "Meditationes Piæ." "Penitential psalms;" and "Spousage of a Virgin to Christ." He also wrote a little treatise entitled, in allusion to his own name, "Galli cantus ad confratres suos:" prints of the bird decorate the first pages.—*Biog. Brit. Bayle. Tanner. Fuller's Worthies. Godwin de Præsulibus.*

ALCUIN, FLACCUS ALBINUS, was born at York of a noble family, about the year 735. At an early age he was placed in a school, over which Egbert, archbishop of York presided, assisted by Albert or Aelbert, one of his relations,

who afterwards succeeded him in the archiepiscopal see. Nothing shews more conspicuously the high estimation in which he was held by his master, than the fact that he selected him for the companion of his expeditions to foreign countries, for the purpose of transplanting to his native soil whatever he might discover of novelty and value either in books or in the pursuits of science. They travelled together through France into Italy, to their ultimate destination, Rome.

After his return, Alcuin remained at York as assistant to his master Aelbert, and on the consecration of Aelbert as the successor of Egbert, he was ordained a deacon; he continued in deacon's orders through life. On the death of Aelbert and the election of Eaubald to the see of York in 781, Alcuin went to Rome to receive the pall for the new archbishop. At Parma he was introduced to Charlemagne, by whom he was invited to settle in his dominions; an invitation which Alcuin, having first obtained the consent of his superiors, accepted. He arrived in France in 782, and undertook the management of the court school, giving instruction to the king, whose education had been much neglected, and to the princes and princesses. Of his instructions the establishment of true religion was the end and aim: he instructed his pupils in grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The first three, afterwards called the trivium, formed the ethics of Alcuin; and the four others, or the quadrivium, the physics: these two parts were only preparatory studies for the highest of all, theology. The knowledge of these studies was to form and strengthen the mind for understanding the true faith, and to protect it against the erroneous doctrines of heretics.

The Anglo-Saxon church was indebted for its foundation to the see of Rome; and, consequently, between that church and the pope a most friendly intercourse was kept up, as was naturally to be expected. The worst doctrines of popery had not at that time corrupted the church of Rome, and it was by the benevolence of that see that distant

missionaries were supported. Alcuin was imbued with humble and profound reverence for the see of Rome, and probably communicated to Charlemagne his sentiments with regard to the position of the pope. From what has been said, it will be seen that no blame can justly attach to Alcuin on this account, although to Charlemagne's partiality for the Roman see, and submission to the usurped powers of its bishops, many of those evils which afterwards befell the church are to be traced.

Alcuin paid a visit to England, in 790, but returned to France in the winter of 792. Here he was entirely employed in assisting the emperor in his holy work of conducting a reformation of the church of France. The state of ecclesiastical affairs was any thing but satisfactory when Charles began his reign, but before its close a reformation had been completed. Monasteries were at that period the chief means of diffusing education, and under the patronage of Charles, and the influence of Alcuin, they rose in all parts of France. The abbeys of Ferrieres and St Lupus, at Troyes, and afterwards that of St Martin, at Tours, were conferred by Charles upon Alcuin.

In the meantime Felix, bishop of Urzel, in Catalonia, and Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, advanced their heresy, which consisted in maintaining that the Son was adopted of the Father, and was not his proper Son. The authors of heresies have often been bishops, and it has been through their influence that they have been propagated further than they would otherwise have been. It becomes, therefore, the other clergy and the laity to watch with jealousy every thing which is advanced by a bishop, with an appearance of novelty, or with pretensions to peculiar intellectual or spiritual acumen: to bring it to established tests, with a care proportionate to the thankfulness and respect with which it should be received, if it be found to agree with them: to repel the errors even of a spiritual father with zeal and firmness; and if that be necessary to proceed against him in the proper court. It would be disgraceful in any church to punish



with severity the errors of a priest, and not to punish with still greater severity the heresies of such bishops as Hoadley and others, who have either denied the grace of the sacraments, or blasphemed the everlasting Son of God. Alcuin, though only a deacon, was the antagonist of the heretical bishops. He replied to Felix in a treatise of seven books, and to Elipandus in a short letter. The controversy between Alcuin and the adoptionists is not one of much interest at the present time, and we pass on to the fuller consideration of that which, about the same time, arose with respect to the worship of images.

The primitive Christians inherited from the Jews not only an abhorrence of image-worship ; but also those commandments of God which had consecrated that abhorrence into a duty : and those commandments given first to the Jews, with carnal ordinances, seemed still more appropriate to the spiritual nature of Christian devotion. But when the empire became Christian, it was the policy of the government to liberalize the institutions of christianity, and the clergy, under government influence, sought to fill their churches by humouring the people still attached to their ancient superstitions. Images of the incarnate God and of his blessed mother were introduced into the churches ; and if the half-converted bowed down before the work of men's hands, the more enlightened, while they regarded the act as superstitious, treated it rather as innocent folly than as an offence. After the 6th century the worship of wood and stone, the work of men's hands, very generally prevailed, and in this respect, as in many others, the eastern church of the middle ages differed from the primitive church. But Leo, the Isaurian, perceived that the worship of images in the church was the great impediment to the conversion of the Mahometans and Jews in his dominions, and he laboured therefore to suppress the evil. After encountering many difficulties, he persuaded a silentium, or secret council of clerical and lay officers, to declare the worship of images to be unlawful, and dangerous to the salvation of souls. In his attempt to carry this sentence into

execution, he met with a fierce opposition. The pope of Rome, Gregory II. took part with the image worshippers, and renounced all connection with the Byzantine empire, forming that alliance with France which was afterwards productive of such important consequences. The son of Leo, Constantine V. pursued the same course with respect to images, as that which had been adopted by his father; and in a council assembled at Constantinople, in 754, consisting of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, image-worship was rejected as an invention of the devil, to allure mankind into a new species of idolatry. Constantine had the satisfaction of seeing the public worship of images abolished before his death, and of receiving a guarantee for the future, in the oath taken by his subjects, that they would never again pay them adoration. If the opposition to the suppression of image-worship had been great, there was now a prevalent feeling against the restoration of the images; but on their restoration the empress Irene was fully bent. She was defeated in an attempt to re-establish them by a council convened in Constantinople, in 786, when the veteran troops of Constantine, and the mob under their protection, obtained possession of the church. But she persevered in her purpose, and summoned a council at Nice, in September, 787. This, which is usually called the deuterio-nicene council, declared the worship of images to be an ordinance of the church, with, however, the nice distinction, that to the saints and images only προσκύνησις prostration of the body was due, while the worship of the heart λατρεία belonged to God alone. The empress declared the decree to be the act of an œcumenical council, to be received as valid by the whole Christian world, and as such it was transmitted to pope Adrian I. in order that he might communicate it to the sovereigns of the west.

In the west of Europe a proper position in relation to divine worship had hitherto been assigned to images. They served rather to ornament sacred edifices, and to deepen the solemn impression which such places are calculated to make, than to awaken or become the objects of

devotion. The predilection for image-worship, which the Romans had transferred from paganism to Christianity, was unfelt by the Germans, who had adored their former deities not so much in artificial representations, as in natural objects. When Adrian, therefore, dispatched a copy of the deuterio-nicene resolutions to Charlemagne, in 792, the communication was received by the monarch with no friendly feelings. It was not likely that he should concede to an assembly of bishops, summoned without his knowledge or consent, and in which the west of Christendom was represented only by two nuncios from the pope, a right to impose laws upon the whole Christian church; and instead of submitting to the resolutions of the deuterio-nicene council, he determined to reject them through the instrumentality of a general council, to be held in the west of Christendom. He sent a transcript of the acts to the church of England, and requested Alcuin to refute them. The English clergy looked upon them with indignation and alarm. The clergy of the church of England had, as we have before remarked, looked upon the church of Rome with filial affection as a mother church; just as we may suppose the church in North America now to regard the church of England. But they sternly rejected the decrees, though sanctioned by the pope, and denounced image-worship as a thing altogether execrated by the Church of God. Alcuin had the honour of being mainly instrumental in bringing the English to this determination; he composed a treatise, in which he proved that the worship of images was inconsistent with the doctrines of scripture and the authority of the fathers.

Alcuin returned to Charlemagne, as has been before remarked, in 792, or the commencement of the following year, attended, as ambassador of the church of England, by a retinue of English ecclesiastics, prepared to attend the council convened by Charlemagne at Frankfort. The council of Frankfort assembled in 794. At this council the heresy of the adoptionists was condemned; the deuterio-nicene council was declared not to be œcumenical;



and the worship of images was rejected, in spite of the pope. The decree of the Frankfort council was confirmed anew by the synod held at Paris by Louis the Pious, in the year 825, on account of the controversy which had again risen in Byzantium respecting images. But in process of time this subject, as well as others of equal importance to the Church, lost its interest, and the worship of images, so strenuously resisted by Charlemagne and the contemporaneous church of England, gradually insinuated itself into the Church, and was one of the many causes which rendered necessary the reformation of the 16th century.

The work which Alcuin composed on the occasion has not been preserved with his name attached to it; but there is every reason to suppose that it is the same as that which now passes under the designation of the Caroline or Carolingian books. At all events, in these important books, published under the name and by the authority of Charlemagne, the assertions of the deuteronicene council are examined and confuted on the authority of scripture and the fathers, and the adoration of images, (not the possession of them) is condemned. Against the worship of images the authority of that illustrious pope, to whom the church of England is so deeply indebted, Gregory the Great, is triumphantly produced.

About the year 796 Alcuin obtained permission from Charlemagne to retire to the abbey of St Martin at Tours, where he restored the monastic discipline, and with it revived a taste for learning. He founded a library, obtaining many books from England; and established a school which became one of the most eminent in France. Here also he employed himself in composing some of his learned works. He was invited by Charlemagne to assist at his coronation at Rome as emperor in the year 800, but he was unable to attend through increasing age and infirmities. His last employment was the revision of the latin text of the bible. He died on the 19th of May,

804, and was buried in the church of St Martin's.—  
*Lorenz life of Alcuin. Wright. Biog. Brit. Lit.*

ALDHELM was born in Wessex, about the year 656, although the exact year of his birth is not known. His father's name was Kenter, a near relation of king Ina. He was educated under the celebrated Adrian, whose life has been already given. His progress in the study of the Greek and Latin languages was such as to surprise his teachers. From the school of Adrian, in Kent, he returned to his native land of Wessex. Here he joined a monastery, or rather a community of scholars, which had been recently established at Malmsbury, and became acquainted with the liberal arts. He continued his studies here and at the school of Adrian, which he revisited, until he was appointed to the office of teacher, and his fame as a teacher was such, that scholars came to Malmsbury from Scotland and France. He could speak Greek, and excelled in Latin, and he was acquainted also with Hebrew, reading the psalms and other parts of scripture in the original text. After a time it was found necessary to place the school of Malmsbury under rule, and accordingly it was formed into a regular monastery, by the West Saxon king, and Aldhelm was appointed abbot. The abbey of Malmsbury, under Aldhelm, continued long to be the seat of piety as well as of learning, and was enriched with many gifts of Saxon kings and nobles. Aldhelm re-built the church at Malmsbury, and dedicated it to St Peter and St Paul, in that age the favourite saints of the Anglo-Saxons. Aldhelm was celebrated both as a poet and a musician, king Alfred placing him in the first rank of the vernacular poets. The minds of the earlier Saxon theologians, who were born of noble and princely families, were indeed well stored with the productions of the native muse. A pleasing anecdote is recorded of Aldhelm, peculiarly characteristic of the age. The peasantry, at this time, were more regular at prayers than attentive to preaching, and no sooner was the church service over, than they hastened to their homes

and labours, and could scarcely be persuaded to attend to the exhortations of the preacher. Their conduct was the reverse, in fact, of that which now prevails. They admitted the duty of devotion, but did not care for the cultivation of the mind; they worshipped their God, but cared little for knowledge. Aldhelm perceived the evils which would result from ignorance, and watching an occasion, stationed himself as a minstrel, on the bridge over which the people had to pass, and soon collected a crowd of hearers, by the beauty of his voice: when he found he had gained possession of their attention, he gradually introduced, among the popular poetry he was reciting, words of a more serious nature, till at length he succeeded in impressing on their minds the importance of obtaining knowledge in things of a more sacred character.

He had been ordained priest by Eleutherius, bishop of Winchester, between the years 670 and 675; and at a subsequent period he visited Rome, as it is supposed, in the escort of king Caedwalla, king of the West Saxons, who was baptized by pope Sergius I. and died at Rome, in 689. The chief object of his visit to Rome was one of which we cannot approve. It was to obtain from pope Sergius a grant, exempting the abbey of Malmesbury from episcopal jurisdiction, and conferring on the monks the privilege of electing their abbot. This is one of those usurpations of the pope, in defiance of all the canons and precedents of the catholic church, to which our ancestors in the church of England tamely submitted. By exempting monasteries from episcopal jurisdiction, the popes indeed prepared the way for their corruption, and in this country for their suppression. As the bishops in the present day submit to the usurpations of the temporal authority, so did the bishops of our church, in Aldhelm's time, succumb to the power of Rome: and as bishops in these days, to gain temporary advantages, have recourse to acts of parliament, so in former times they obtained injunctions from the papal see. In either case they yield submission where it is not due; and as the usurpations of Rome so damaged



the church of England, as to compel us to adopt that course, with reference to the Roman see, which our ancestors pursued at the reformation, so may we feel assured that the parliamentary interference with the church, which is now tolerated, unless it receives a timely check, will lead to disastrous consequences, and terminate in some ecclesiastical revolution.

Aldhelm did not remain long at Rome. In 692 he appears to have taken part, though not very decidedly, with Wilfred, in his great contest with the Anglo-Saxon clergy. Soon after this, we find him employed in the still more famous dispute about the day of celebrating Easter.

In the year 705, on the death of Hedda, the bishopric of Wessex was divided into two dioceses, of which one, that of Sherburn, afterwards removed to Salisbury, was given to Aldhelm, who held his abbacy in commendam. He died on the 25th of May, 709. A list of the various editions of his works is given by Mr Wright; from whose "Biographia Britannica Literaria" the chief facts related above have been derived. See also Churton's *Anglo-Saxon Church*.

ALDHUN was born of a noble family, in the 10th century, and succeeded Elfsig in the bishopric of Lindisfarne or Holy Island, in 990, being the 12th year of king Ethelred. Finding the island greatly exposed to the incursions of the Danish pirates, he removed the see, after residing there for six years, to Durham, and thus he became the first bishop of Durham. He took with him the body of St Cuthbert from Chester-le-Street, whither it had already been removed from Lindisfarne; and at Dunelm, or Durham, erected a cathedral, calling it by the name of St Cuthbert. This bishop had a daughter named Eegfrid, whom he gave in marriage to Ucthred, son of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, from whom she was afterwards divorced. There was at that period no constrained celibacy of the clergy. He had endowed her with six towns

belonging to the episcopal see, which, upon her divorce, he received back again. He educated king Ethelred's two sons, Alfred and Edward; and when their father was driven from his throne by Swane, king of Denmark, he conducted them to Normandy, and placed them together with queen Emma, under the protection of her brother, duke Richard. In the year 1018 the English were defeated by the Scots, and the bishop was so affected by the news, that he died a few days after. *Biog. Brit. Surtees' Hist. of Durham.*

ALDRED. Of the early life of this prelate we know nothing, except that being abbot of Tavistock, he was preferred to the bishopric of Worcester, in 1046, in the reign of Edward the Confessor. He was the means of reconciling Edward to Swane, son of the earl Godwin, who had revolted against him; and afterwards to Griffith, king of Wales. In 1050 he took a journey to Jerusalem, being the first English bishop who had visited the sacred city. Upon his return he was sent, by Edward the Confessor, on an embassy to the emperor Henry II. and he remained in Germany for a year; there learning certain points of ecclesiastical discipline, which he afterwards introduced into our own church. In the year 1060 he was promoted to the see of York, holding the see of Worcester in commendam. His holding this see in commendam with the archbishopric of York, seems to have given great offence, and he has been accused of retaining it by a simoniacal contract. On this ground, it is said, that when he went to Rome, the pope refused to grant him the pall. It was one of the artifices of the Roman see to throw difficulties in the way of granting this distinction. This rendered archbishops more urgent to obtain it, and through their urgency the public mind became accustomed to the idea that the pall was necessary. Aldred had gone to Rome on an embassy from the king, and to this embassy Sir Edward Coke refers for proof, that in those days, as in the present, the sovereign of England declared himself

to be over all causes and persons ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme ; the king being described as “ the vicar of the highest King, who is ordained to this end, that he govern and rule the people of this land, and, above all things, the holy church, and that he should defend the same from wrong doers, and root out workers of mischief.” At the same time, it must be admitted, that the king, in ignorance, conceded some jurisdiction to the pope of Rome, since the object was to obtain certain privileges for Westminster abbey, which king Edward had lately erected. Aldred was returning without the pall, but the ambassadors, before they left Italy, were way-laid and robbed. On their returning to Rome, earl Tosti insisted on the pope’s making good their loss, telling him that his excommunications would be little regarded at a distance, if his authority were set at naught by highwaymen, almost at the gates of his palace. The violence of Tosti made the pope think it good policy to conciliate Aldred, who in consequence received the pall, but in order to yield with a good grace, the pope insisted that the archbishop should resign the see of Worcester. On the death of Edward the Confessor, Harold put the crown on his own head, but had a promise from Aldred that he would consecrate him, a promise which Aldred was unable from illness immediately to fulfil, and which was frustrated by Harold’s premature death. After the battle of Hastings, Aldred, with other English nobles, including Edgar Atheling, made their submission to William the Conqueror at Birkhamstead, and consented to crown him ; the king elect having first sworn to observe the laws of the English church and nation. The archbishop of Canterbury was Stigand ; but Stigand had quarrelled with the pope, who had encouraged William in his unjust invasion of this country, and consequently William was unwilling to irritate the pope by being crowned by him. The influence which Aldred had at first over William was so great that the king, though imperious to every one else, was submissive to the archbishop. According to John Brompton, the



king, on one occasion, awed by the remonstrances of Aldred, fell down at the archbishop's feet; but the story is scarcely credible. The concluding years of Aldred's life are involved in some obscurity. He died in September, 1069, disgusted by the cruel exactions of the Conqueror.  
—*Biog. Brit. Collier. Wharton.*

ALDRICH, HENRY, was born at London, in 1647, and educated at Westminster school under the famous Dr Busby. In act-term, 1662, he was admitted at Christ church in Oxford. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts May 31, 1666; and that of Master, April 3, 1669. Soon after he entered into holy orders, and on the 15th of February, 1681, was installed canon of Christ church; and the March following, took the degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity. He had a great share in the controversy with the papists, during the reign of king James II., and bishop Burnet ranks him amongst those eminent clergymen, "who examined all the points of popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language." Aldrich had rendered himself so conspicuous, that at the revolution, when Massey, the popish dean of Christ church, fled beyond sea, the deanery was conferred upon him, and he was installed therein the 17th of June, 1689. In this station he behaved in the most exemplary manner, zealously promoting learning, religion, and virtue in the college over which he presided. Peckwater quadrangle was designed by him: he was indeed celebrated in his day as an architect; the church of All Saints and the chapel of Trinity college being also specimens of his skill. In imitation of his predecessor, bishop Fell, he published yearly a piece of some ancient Greek author, as a present to the students of his house. He wrote likewise a system of logic. The revision of lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion was intrusted to him and to bishop Sprat.

As a musician his science was such that to him we are indebted for much of the music which is used in our cathedrals. He adapted to our services many of the compositions of Palestrina and Carissimi, besides composing twenty anthems himself.

In 1689 the low church party having, through the revolution, gained the ascendancy in our church, a commission consisting of the bishops and twenty divines was appointed to prepare matters to be laid before the convocation, with a view of liberalizing the church in favour of the presbyterians, though with respect to the other extreme, (that of Romanism,) it was intended to be less liberal than before. It will be observed that this commission included a large proportion of clergy of the second order; an order, it must always be remembered, invested with authority almost equal to the episcopal, especially in the church of England, where no canon can be passed without the consent of the lower house of convocation. In a church in which the crown virtually appoints to the bishoprics the efficiency and independence of the church will be lost, unless the rights of this order in the ministry be strictly maintained. It is therefore to be hoped that the presbyters of the church of England will ere long awake to a sense of their dignity, and assert their right to be heard in ecclesiastical legislation. From the present ecclesiastical commission for England, the presbyters of England are almost excluded: for three deans, two of them being bishops, are hardly an exception. The commission consists of bishops and laymen, and yet they have chiefly to deal with the rights and properties of an unrepresented order of the clergy.

In the commission of 1689, dean Aldrich was appointed; it was probably supposed that one who had been distinguished by his zeal against popery, would join with others in erasing all vestiges of a catholic character from the church of England. But Aldrich soon withdrew, in company with Dr Jane, regius professor of divinity, and bishops Sprat and Mew. The rest of his life was passed in the

zealous discharge of his duties as dean of Christchurch. He closed his laborious and exemplary career at Christchurch, on the 14th of December, 1710.

To his *Artis Logicæ compendium* allusion has already been made. It is a work still used in the university of Oxford, and evinces a thorough mastery over all the forms of Aristotelian logic. He published also a Reply to two discourses lately printed at Oxford (written by Abraham Woodhead, fellow of University college,) concerning the adoration of our blessed Saviour in the holy eucharist; 1687. A defence of the Oxford reply; 1688.—*Biog. Brit.* Birch's *Life of Tillotson*.

ALEANDER, JEROME, was born on the 13th of February, 1480, at Motta, near Friuli. He was the son of a physician, by whom he was sent to Venice, where at the age of twenty-four he was reputed one of the most learned men of his time. In the year 1500 he lectured at Venice on Cicero's Tusculan questions. Such was his success, that he conciliated to himself the good opinion of Aldus Manutius, who, in 1504, dedicated to him, as to a perfect master, not only of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also of the Chaldee and Arabic languages, a mathematician, musician, and a poet, his edition of Homer. So high was his character that pope Alexander VI. invited him to Rome, and intended to make him secretary to his son Cæsar Borgia, a disgrace which he escaped by a timely illness, during a mission as the pope's envoy to Hungary. Returning to Venice he formed a friendship with Erasmus, which was in itself sufficient to stamp his character as a scholar. In 1508, at the invitation of Louis XII. he went to France, and became rector of the university at Paris. He remained in France till the year 1514, when he was made chancellor to Everard de la Marck, bishop of Liege, by whom he was subsequently sent to Rome, to negociate with the pope for his promotion to the dignity of cardinal. Leo X. perceiving his talents, detained him at Rome, and in 1519 Aleander became librarian of the vatican.



And now occurred the great event of Aleander's life. He was sent by the pope into Germany, to suppress the doctrines of Luther. He was appointed the pope's nuncio at the celebrated diet of Worms, for an account of which the reader is referred to the life of Martin Luther. The excitement in favour of Luther was such in that part of Germany through which the nuncio had to pass, that he was exposed to neglect and insult, so that he approached the diet with exasperated feelings. In this instance, as in many others, we perceive the vanity of that boast which represents literature as softening the manners, and making men less fierce. This is the property only of religion. Aleander and his opponent Luther were both of them men of learning and letters, and yet in fierceness of temper they have seldom been surpassed. To the influence of Aleander, at the diet of Worms, the shameful treatment of Luther, the proscription of his person, and the burning of his books, is generally ascribed. The edict against Luther, which was finally adopted by the emperor and the diet, was drawn up by Aleander, who designated the Lutherans as "a motley rabble of insolent grammarians, licentious priests, disorderly monks, ignorant advocates, degraded nobles, misled and perverted plebeians." Such language was not only useless but mischievous, for it provoked retaliation. Luther was not a man to permit an insult to pass with impunity, and he indulged in invectives the most bitter against Aleander, declaring him to be a jew, who did not believe in the resurrection, and accusing him of covetousness, lust, arrogance, pride, and vanity; while Ulric Hutten went so far as to threaten to kill him, if ever he had an opportunity. Both Aleander and Luther professed to be influenced by zeal for religion. The conduct of Aleander disgusted the moderate among the catholics, and by his violence he lost the friendship of Erasmus. Clement VII, in 1523, made him archbishop of Brindisi, and appointed him nuncio to France; and he attended in this capacity Francis I. when he besieged Pavia. He was sent nuncio a second time into Germany,

to attend the diet of Spires in 1531. He stated that in Germany he found a change in opinion and feeling on the part of the people in the protestant cities, who were no longer animated against the Roman see as formerly ; but in the catholic towns they shewed an extreme desire to throw off their allegiance to Rome, and to enrich themselves with the spoils of the church, as the protestants had done : the alteration in the protestants was owing to this, that having hoped for greater liberty by shaking off the papal yoke, they now found by experience that that of the secular power, under which they were obliged to live, proved no less heavy. Aleander exerted his utmost endeavours, but without success, to hinder Charles V. from making a truce with the protestants in Germany. In 1536 he went to Rome, where in 1538 he was created a cardinal by Paul III. and was intended to be president at the council of Trent ; in the mean time he went into Germany for the third time, as legate from the pope, in 1538, and here he continued a year. He returned to Rome in 1539, where he continued to reside till his death, in 1542. Merle D'Aubigne, with more impartiality than usual with him, remarks, that " Protestant historians speak of his epicurean morals ; Romish historians of his blameless life." So difficult is it to arrive at the truth of history.—*Mosheim. Moreri. Jortin's Erasmus. D'Aubigny's Hist. of Reformation. Sleidan.*

ALEMAN, LOUIS, was born in 1390, of a noble family of Buguy, and became archbishop of Arles, receiving the cardinal's hat from pope Martin V. He is chiefly known in history by the distinguished part he sustained in the council of Basle, which assembled in 1431. At this council he acted with cardinal Julian as one of the presidents. The object of pope Eugenius IV. at this council was to reverse the decrees of the council of Constance, which had declared the authority of councils to be superior to that of the pope. To the pope, Aleman offered a determined and consistent opposition, assisted at first by

Julian, though he afterwards deserted the cause of the council. He was thus instrumental in causing that distinction which exists to the present time between those members of the Romish church who are called ultramontane, and those, who, though Romanists, and acknowledging the superiority of the Roman see, nevertheless maintain the independence of national churches, and deny the right of the pope to interfere in the temporal affairs of any dominion but his own. At this council Eugenius IV. was threatened with suspension, and it was declared that the pope has no right to dissolve or translate councils. Aleman was supported by the emperor and several of the temporal princes, and did not rest until he had obtained a sentence of deposition against Eugenius, which he succeeded in doing in 1440. Eugenius excommunicated Aleman, and declared him to be unworthy of holding any rank in the church. But a new pope had been elected under the name of Felix V. and Aleman gave little heed to the anathema of Eugenius. But in order to prevent a schism he at length persuaded Felix V. to abdicate, and by Nicholas V. the successor of Eugenius, he was restored to all his dignities. Nicholas sent him as his legate to lower Germany; and on his return Aleman retired to his diocese, where he occupied himself in re-establishing discipline among his clergy, and in instructing the people. He died at Salon, in 1452.—L'Enfant's *History of the Council of Basle*. Æneas Sylvius' *De Conc. Basil.*

ALES, or ALESSE, ALEXANDER, was born in Edinburgh, on the 23rd of April, 1500, and was educated at St Andrews, where he obtained a canonry in the cathedral church. He was at first an anti-Lutheran, but was converted to Lutheranism by the discourse of Patrick Hamilton, and by the constancy he shewed at the stake. Being subjected to persecution for his opinions in Scotland, he fled, in 1534, to England, where he became acquainted with Cromwell, and through him with Henry VIII. and many of the English reformers, including Cranmer, archbishop



of Canterbury. By the latter he was afterwards employed in translating the English liturgy into Latin, to enable Bucer to pronounce judgment upon it. As the English prayer book is taken almost entirely from the Roman breviary, pontifical, and missal, the task was not a difficult one. On the death of Cromwell he went into Saxony, where he and John Fife lived together as professors in the university of Leipzic. He was, in the interim, professor at Frankfort on the Oder, but retired in consequence of a controversy as to the power of the civil magistrate to punish fornication. The lay reformers would not consent to any such principle, and the court of Brandenburg was particularly incensed against him. In the dispute, raised by G. Major, on the necessity of good works to salvation, he espoused the side of Major; and maintained the merit of good works in a public disputation, held in the university of Leipzic. He died at Leipzic in 1565. His principal works are—1. *De necessitate et merito bonorum operum*; disputatio proposita in celebri academia Lipsica ad 29 Nov. 1560. 2. *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis, et in utramque Epistolam ad Timotheum*. 3. *Expositio in Psalmos Davidis*. 4. *De Justificatione, contra Osian-drum*. 5. *De Sancta Trinitate, cum confutatione erroris Valentini*. 6. *Responsio ad triginta et duos articulos theologorum Loveniensium*. Also a Latin work on the right of the laity to read the scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and a defence of that work against Cochläeus.—Mackenzies' *Scotch Writers*. Strype's *Life of Cranmer and Memorials*. Bayle. Tanner.

ALEXANDER was the patriarch of Alexandria from 312 to 326. He succeeded Achillas, and his appointment excited the envy and hatred of Arius, who had himself aspired to the episcopal throne. His doctrines were attacked by Arius, whom, after mildly exhorting to return to the truth, he cited before an assembly of the clergy at Alexandria; and on his refusing to recant his errors, excommunicated him and his followers. This sentence was afterwards confirmed by above a hundred bishops, in the

council of Alexandria, in the year 320. Alexander was present at the council of Nice, and died Feb. 26, 326, appointing Athanasius for his successor. For a fuller account the reader is referred to the articles on St Athanasius and on Arius. Of his numerous epistles written against the Arian heresy, two only remain:—one in Socrates, lib. i. c. 6; and in Gelasius Cyzicenus's History of the council of Nice, lib. ii. c. 3. The other, addressed to Alexander of Byzantium, is in Theodoret, lib. i. c. 4. Fragments of a third are in S. Maximi Opus. Theol. et Polem. vol. ii. 152, 155.—*Socrates. Theodoret. Dupin.*

ALEXANDER, a divine of the third century, who studied under Pantænus and Clement of Alexandria. Alexander, bishop of Cappadocia, being come to Jerusalem, to visit the holy places that are there, when Narcissus, who governed that church, was not capable himself alone, by reason of his great age, to discharge all the duties of the episcopal office; the Christians of that city retained Alexander, and made him his coadjutor, by the consent of the bishops of the neighbouring churches. It is said that they had a revelation, and heard a voice advising them to chuse him bishop; and indeed there needed nothing less than a miracle, to authorize an election so extraordinary as this, and for which there had yet been no precedent. He governed this church jointly with Narcissus, as his colleague. See what he says of it, at the conclusion of a letter written to those of Antinopolis. “Narcissus, who held before me the episcopal see, and who is now united with me in prayers, being a hundred and sixteen years old, sends you greeting, and exhorts you to be all of one and the same mind.”

It has been observed, that in this transaction we have the first example of the translation of a bishop from one see to another, and for making one bishop coadjutor to another.

Alexander being in prison in the time of the perscution under Severus, wrote likewise a letter to those of Antioch.

wherein he congratulates them upon the ordination of Asclepiades, who succeeded Serapio in that see. He sent this letter by Clement, as it is believed, of Alexandria. Besides he wrote a letter to Origen: of which Eusebius recites a fragment in the 14th chapter of the 6th book of his history, where he says, that he was a friend of Pantænus, and of Clement of Alexandria, and that these men made him acquainted with Origen; in this letter he proves, by several examples, that bishops may invite those that are proper for instructing the people, to preach in their presence. He wrote besides several other letters, of which we have nothing remaining. He suffered martyrdom at Cæsarea, in the time of the persecution under the emperor Decius.—*Dupin.*

ALEXANDER was born at Blois, in France, and elected bishop of Lincoln in 1123. He rebuilt the greater part of Lincoln cathedral, in 1124, after it had been nearly destroyed by fire; and increased the prebends of his church, endowing them with several manors and estates. For almost all the endowments of the church, it will be observed, we are indebted to the pious benevolence of individuals, and not to the state. The state has often taken from the church, but never given to it.

For Alexander's life our chief if not our only authority is Godwin, whose account of him is here given from his catalogue of bishops.

Roger, that famous bishop of Salisbury, was now so great a man with the king, (Henry the First,) as being able to do with him what he list, he easily entreated him to bestow the bishopric of Lincoln upon one Alexander, his own brother's son, a Norman born, whom not long before he had made archdeacon of Salisbury, and chief justice of England. He was consecrated at Canterbury, July 22, 1123. The next year after his cathedral church, so lately built, and yet scarcely finished, was burnt, and horribly defaced by casual fire. This man repaired it again, and added unto it a special ornament, a goodly



vault of stone, which before it had not, and therefore was the more subject unto fire. He also increased the number of his prebends, and purchased unto his church certain manors and other lands. But his chief delight was in building of castles, wherein he imitated his uncle, the bishop of Salisbury. This humour was the undoing of them both. To leave the other unto his own place, Alexander built a stately castle at Banbury, another at Newark, and a third at Sleaford. William Parvus reporteth that he founded two monasteries, but what or where I find not. These castles were such eye-sores unto king Stephen, as they provoked him to pick a quarrel otherwise with the bishops, to clap them up in prison, (where the other died,) and to bereave them at once of these munitions and all their treasure, whereof they had hoarded up great store. They that kept the castle of Newark refused to deliver it at the king's summons, till such time as the bishop intreated them to yield, signifying (and it was true indeed) that the king had sworn he should neither eat nor drink before he had possession of the castle. Hereupon they set open the gates unto the king, and then, with much ado, having lain by it certain months, he was at last released of his imprisonment. After that, perceiving the vanity of his former course, he gave himself wholly to building and advancing the state of his church, performed that which before I have expressed, and so made it simply the most beautiful church of England at that time. He was thrice at Rome, to wit, in the years 1142 and 1144, where he behaved himself so, as he pleased both the king and the pope very well. The first time he was there, the pope gave him authority to call a convocation as his legate, and especially commended unto him the redress of certain enormities; for the effecting whereof he caused divers canons to be made, very necessary for those times. A third journey he made unto the pope, lying then in France, in the month of August, 1147, where through immoderate heat of the weather during the time of his travel, he fell sick, and with much ado getting home, not long after his

return, he died, having sat bishop about the space of twenty-four years.

ALEXANDER, JOHN, was born in the year 1703. He was ordained deacon and priest in the Scottish church, which having been established until the revolution of 1688, was at that time deprived of its endowments, of which the presbyterians obtained possession, and was subjected to very bitter persecution. He officiated at Alloa: and in 1743, upon the death of bishop Rathay, the clergy of Dunkeld elected him to be their diocesan. On the 9th of August he was consecrated by bishops Keith, White, Falconer, and Rait. The bishops assembled on this occasion determined to constitute themselves a synod of the church, and elected Keith, bishop of Fife, to preside over them, under the ancient title of *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*. They then adopted certain canons, which have ever since been the foundation of all the regulations for the internal government, discipline, and practice in the Scottish church. The bishops, in thus acting without consulting their presbyters, had certainly exceeded their powers, and a controversy with reference to the canons ensued. But the objections to the canons being at length overruled by the clergy in general, the church enjoyed rest, and her children were looking forward to a season of tranquillity, when the fatal expedition of Charles Edward, in 1745, once more afforded the presbyterians a plea for persecution. Although the episcopalians were not more involved in that enterprise than the presbyterians, yet on them alone the vengeance of the government fell; and to the disgrace of the church of England, no measures were adopted to protect the interests of our religion in Scotland. It was indeed the worst era of our church, and her rulers were thinking more of the dignities of the establishment than of the spiritual welfare of the church. From this time any person officiating in the episcopal church of Scotland was subjected to severe penalties; ministers were subjected to fine and imprisonment, and the laity attending

church service were disabled from holding any office, civil or military. The chapels were shut up in the towns, and in many places burnt to the ground by the military and the mob. Smollet, himself a presbyterian, represents the presbyterians as proceeding with ungovernable violence to persecute the episcopal party, exercising the very same tyranny against which they themselves had so loudly exclaimed.

The chapel of bishop Alexander, at Alloa, was razed to the ground, for being in a row, it would, if burnt, have caused a general conflagration; his house was plundered, and he was obliged to conceal himself. He resumed his duties, nevertheless, in spite of the penalties, after the first violence of the persecution ceased, using as a chapel a room in a private house, and died in the year 1776, as he had lived, in the faith and fear of God, and in peace with all mankind.—Russell's edition of *Keith's Catalogue*. Skinner's *Annals*. Lawson's *Hist. of the Scottish Episcopal Church*.

ALEXANDER, NOEL, commonly called Natalis, was born at Rouen, in 1639. He commenced his studies, and entered the order of preaching brethren in that city; he afterwards went to Paris, where he became a member of the great convent. In 1675, he was made a doctor in theology: in the same year he published his "*Summa S. Thomæ vindicata*," and in the year following appeared his first volume of positive theology, the "*Selecta historiæ ecclesiasticæ capita*," completed in twenty-six vols, the last of which appeared in 1686. To this work was subsequently added the *Historia ecclesiastica veteris novique Testamenti*. 8 vols.

In 1682, Father Alexander incurred the displeasure of the court of Rome, by asserting in an assembly of the clergy, some points of the liberties of the Gallican church and of the regale; his books were proscribed by pope Innocent XI. in a special decree. This did not prevent the continuance of his labours, and besides some controversial works he began a course of dogmatic and moral



theology, which was published in the year 1694, in ten vols. 8vo. Besides these works we find that Alexander wrote “*Institutio concionatorum*,” a treatise on preaching; an exposition of the gospels; a like exposition of the epistles, together with numerous dissertations, and some pamphlets against the jesuits, which controversy was suspended by command of the king. Father Alexander died at Paris in 1724, in his 86th year.—*Moreri. Echard. Dupin.*

ALEXANDER, of Hales, surnamed the irrefragable doctor, was born at Hales in Gloucestershire. When he had completed his studies in England, he went to Paris, and became a doctor in divinity and in canon law, in that university. In 1222 he entered the order of friars minims, and was tutor to Bonaventure. By order of Innocent IV. he wrote a commentary upon the four books of sentences: a very subtle sum of divinity, which is the only work certainly known as his. Many books were attributed to him, among which were a Life of St Thomas of Canterbury, a Life of King Richard of England, and a Treatise against Mahomet; but none of these have descended to our times. Alexander of Hales died at Paris in 1245.—*Dupin. Moreri.*

ALLEINE, RICHARD, was born in 1611, and educated at Oxford. He became afterwards a violent covenanter, and was nominated, as was also his father, assistant to the commissioners appointed by parliament for ejecting scandalous ministers. Among scandalous ministers were included all who professed the doctrines of the church of England. He assisted in depriving the clergy of the church of England of their livings; and having himself obtained the living of Datchit, when the Church was restored, he was obliged to resign it because he could not conform to the regulations of that church which he had so severely persecuted. If he had conformed he would have remained unmolested. The state, in dread of ano-

ther rebellion on the part of dissenters, enacted several severe laws against the non-conformists, which we cannot but regret, although they were as nothing compared with the laws by which, under Cromwell, popery and prelacy were persecuted. Under these laws Alleine was often summoned to the quarter sessions and reprimanded as the keeper of a conventicle. His principal work is "Vindiciæ pietatis," which is highly esteemed among the Calvinists. He died in 1681.—*Calamy*.

ALLEINE, JOSEPH, was born at Devizes, in 1633, and educated at Corpus Christi college, Oxford. There is an account of him in Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, in which he is not represented as an amiable character. During the rebellion he, as a zealous puritan, was provided for out of the confiscated property of the church, and the clergy having been silenced, he was appointed an assistant minister at Taunton, in Somersetshire. When the dissenters had succeeded in the rebellion, such restraints were laid upon the clergy of the church of England, that seven thousand of them were obliged to resign or quit their livings. When the church with the monarchy was restored, it was of necessity enacted that all who possessed the livings of the church should conform to the regulations of the church: hence the act of uniformity; an act which it was absolutely necessary to pass on the restoration of the church, which is indeed implied in the fact of the church's restoration to those rights and that property of which, during the rebellion, it had been deprived by the union of puritans within the pale and dissenters without. On the passing of this act only two thousand ministers, who had appropriated to themselves the livings of the church, refused to conform. These two thousand are much to be respected for having acted upon conscientious motives: they followed the example which had been set them in the times of the rebellion by seven thousand of the clergy of the church of England. Alleine was one of those who was thus deprived by the act

of uniformity. So far the government of the day was justifiable in its conduct; it could not have acted otherwise: but the severe penalties to which the non-conformists were subjected on their opening conventicles, must always be reprobated by us. No party could at that time understand the nature of toleration; and the excuse for the government of the restoration is, that their conduct towards the non-conformists was lenient, as compared with that of the presbyterians and independents, when in power, towards the members of the church. Alleine was frequently subjected to fine or imprisonment for holding a conventicle contrary to the laws of the land. His chief work is *An Alarm to the Unconverted*.—Wood. *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

ALLEN, Cardinal. See ALAN.

ALLEN, JOHN, archbishop of Dublin in the reign of Henry VIII. was born about the year 1476, was educated at Oxford, and took his degree of B.C.L. at Cambridge. In January 1507, he was preferred to the charge of a church in Kent, and subsequently held various churches in divers parts of England; by these pluralities, adding to the numberless instances which show how much the church needed a reformation, such as commenced in the reign of Henry. He was sent by archbishop Warham to Rome on ecclesiastical affairs; there he remained for about nine years, and on his return was appointed by Wolsey to be his chaplain, and also commissary in his court. That in an ecclesiastical court to decide on ecclesiastical causes an ecclesiastic should be judge, seems to be only what the church has a right to expect: but the conduct of Allen as a judge appears to have been criminal. In 1525, he took the degree of LL.D. at Oxford; and on the 12th of March, 1528, he was consecrated archbishop of Dublin; and shortly afterwards made chancellor. “At length (says Wood) being taken in a time of rebellion by Thomas Fitz-Gerard, or Gerald, eldest son of the earl of Kildare, he was by his command most cruelly murdered by being



brained like an ox, at Tartaine, in Ireland, 20th July, 1534, aged fifty eight." His works are, *Epistola de pallii significatione*:—*De consuetudinibus ac statutis in territorii causis observandis*; and several other pieces relating to the church.—*Biog. Brit.*

ALLESTREE, RICHARD, was born at Uppington, in Shropshire, in 1619, and was educated under Philemon Holland, master of the grammar school, at Coventry. He entered at Christchurch, Oxford, in 1636, where he had for his tutor Richard Busby, afterwards the celebrated master of Westminster school. He was distinguished by his industry and talent, and was made a student by Dr Samuel Fell. In 1641, being then a bachelor of arts, he took up arms, like a loyal subject, in defence of his king. At one time he nearly fell a victim to his loyalty, for the rebels, under lord Say, having plundered the colleges of their plate, attempted to break into the treasury of Christchurch; but after effecting their object, they found nothing to recompense their trouble but a groat and a halter at the bottom of a large iron chest. Enraged at the disappointment, they proceeded to plunder the deanery, and locked up their booty in a chamber, intending to return and dispose of it the next day; but before their return, every thing had been removed from the chamber, Mr Allestree possessing a key to the deanery. For this he was suspected and seized; but the rebels having been suddenly drawn off by the earl of Essex, he was thus providentially rescued from their fury.

In October following he was again in arms, and was present at the battle of Kineton-field in Warwickshire; but in returning to Oxford, to prepare for the king's reception, he was taken prisoner by a party of horse, and confined a short time at Broughton-house, then garrisoned by lord Say. Regaining his liberty, he returned to his studies, and took his degree of M.A. the next year, (June 2, 1643,) but shortly after he nearly lost his life from a pestilential fever which raged in the garrison. Having a

little recovered his health, he was again employed in active service, with other volunteers of the university, and continued therein till the end of the war, devoting to study the little time which he could rescue from military duties, and not unfrequently joining both together, holding his musket in one hand and his book in the other, and making the watchings of a soldier the lucubrations of the student. When at length, by the disunion of churchmen, and the junction of puritans within the church with the puritans out of the church, infidelity, wearing the mask of zeal for religion, gained the ascendant, and by the blood of the sovereign and the primate, the iniquities of this nation had come to a climax, Mr Allestree resumed his studies and entered holy orders. He held the office of private tutor and censor of Christchurch; and unintimidated by the menaces of the rebel garrison, by which the city of Oxford was occupied, he joined in the decree of the university against the solemn league and covenant. In the year 1648 the parliament sent visitors to Oxford, to demand the submission of the university to their authority: all who refused to comply were immediately proscribed; this was done by writing their names on a paper, and affixing it on the door of St Mary's church, signifying that such persons were, by the authority of the visitors, banished the university, and required to depart the precincts thereof within three days, upon pain of being taken for spies of war, and proceeded against as such. Allestree, amongst many others, was by this tyrannical act of the dissenters now in power, expelled the university. He retired into Shropshire as chaplain to the honourable Francis Newport, upon the death of whose father, Richard, lord Newport, in France, whither he had fled to avoid the violence of the prevailing party, Mr Allestree was sent over to France to take care of that nobleman's effects. Having executed this business with success, he returned to his employment, in which he continued until the defeat of king Charles II. at Worcester. At this time the royalists, wanting an intelligent and faithful

person to send over to his majesty, Mr Allestree was solicited to undertake the journey, which he accordingly did ; and having attended the king at Rouen, and received his dispatches, returned to England. In 1659, he went over again to his majesty in Flanders ; but upon his return was seized at Dover by a party of soldiers. He had the address however to secure his letters. The soldiers guarded him to London, where he was examined by a committee of the council of safety, and sent prisoner to Lambeth-house, now converted into a bastile, where he contracted a dangerous sickness. After six or eight weeks confinement, he was set at liberty ; and this enlargement was perhaps owing to the prospect of an approaching revolution ; for some of the heads of the republican party, feeling things tend towards his majesty's restoration, were willing by acts of kindness to recommend themselves to the royal party, in case things should take that turn.

Shortly after the king's restoration, Mr Allestree was made canon of Christchurch, and used all his means in repairing the ruins which had been made by the hands of the sacrilegious invaders of the university. At the same time he gratuitously supplied one of the lectureships of the city of Oxford, distributing the salary to the poor. In 1660 he proceeded to his degree of doctor of divinity, was appointed one of the king's chaplains in ordinary, and soon after was chosen to succeed Dr William Creed, as regius professor of divinity. In 1665, when the provostship of Eton was vacant, it was offered him by the king ; but refused by him for some time, till, fearing that if he resisted the wishes of his friends any longer, it would be given to Mr Waller, the poet, who was making great interest to procure it, and thus a layman be preferred to an ecclesiastical appointment, he at last consented, and held the provostship till the end of his life ; resolutely refusing, for the same reason, every offer of preferment which might cause a vacancy to the provostship, and expose it to its former hazards. His health and eyesight



decaying, he resigned his divinity professorship in 1679, and was succeeded by his friend Dr Jane; but his infirmities increasing, and terminating at length in a dropsy, he removed to London for the better advice and readier means of consulting the physicians. But all remedies proved ineffectual, and he died in January, 1681. The author of the preface to his sermons, speaks thus of Dr Allestree: "His mind, (says he) that nobler part of him, was composed by an extraordinary indulgence of nature; those faculties which in others use to be single, and are thought necessarily to be so, were united in him: memory, fancy, judgment, elocution, great modesty, and no less assurance, a comprehension of things and fluency of words; an aptness for the pleasant, and sufficiency of the rugged parts of knowledge; a courage to encounter, and an industry to master all things, make up the character of his happy genius. In the managery of the business of the chair of divinity, as he performed the scholastic part with great sufficiency, in exact and dextrous untying the knots of arguments, and solid determination of controverted points; so he was not oppressed by the fame of any of his most eminent predecessors. His prudence was very remarkable in the choice of subjects to be treated on; for he wasted no time and opportunity in the insignificant parts of school-divinity, but insisted on the fundamental grounds of controversy between the church of England, and the most formidable enemies thereof." He was a considerable benefactor to Eton college, and he raised the character and reputation of the school. He was the author of,—1. The privileges of the University of Oxford, in point of visitation, in a letter, 4to, 1647. 2. Forty sermons. Oxford, 1684, folio, published by Dr Fell, bishop of Oxford, with an excellent life, prefixed by the same prelate. The first edition of the first ten sermons in this collection was published for the benefit of his kinsman, James Allestree, a bookseller, who had suffered great losses from the fire of London. Among the Sloane MSS. in the

British museum, No 4275, is an original letter from Dr Allestree to Dr Fell, bishop of Oxford, dated April 29, 1675, informing him that Dr Busby is willing to endow Christchurch, Oxford, with the livings of St Ebbs and St Peters, and to increase their value, if the lord keeper, the patron, will consent to part with them.—*Life prefixed to his Sermons. Biog. Brit. Athenæ Oxoniensis.*

ALLEY, WILLIAM, was born about the year 1512, at Great Wycomb, Bucks; he was educated at Eton, from whence, in 1528, he went to King's college, Cambridge; after having taken his degree of B A. in that university, he removed to Oxford. At this time the contest between the romish and the reforming party in the church of England was carried on with much violence on both sides. Alley attached himself zealously to the reformers, married, was beneficed, and for a time lived at ease. But on the accession of queen Mary, the romish party had the ascendancy in our church, and by their impolitic cruelty ruined their cause. The romish party, conforming to our church, has never since her reign been either large or powerful. The majority of the Romanists, in queen Elizabeth's reign, formed themselves into a distinct and schismatic sect. But being, at the time we are referring to, the predominant party in the church of England, Alley thought it expedient to conceal himself, and earned an honourable maintenance in the North of England, by practising physic, and educating youth. When queen Elizabeth came to the throne, he returned to London, and read the divinity lecture in St Paul's. He is said to have discharged this office with great ability; and he is also distinguished as the translator of the Pentateuch for archbishop Parker's bible. On the 14th of July, 1560, he was consecrated bishop of Exeter; and in the synod of 1562 we find his lordship taking an active part. It appears that several of the bishops prepared papers for this synod, to be considered by the prelates, before their being brought under notice of the convocation or the queen, (who, it may be

observed, by the way, was, according to Strype, studying the fathers.) The paper of the bishop of Exeter, containing his judgment of doctrine and discipline is interesting, as giving an insight into the character and feelings of the age, and is here subjoined.

“FOR DOCTRINE.—*Imprimis*. I judge, in my simple opinion, that it were very expedient and necessary, that one kind of doctrine should be preached and taught by all that be authorized to preach, and not to inveigh one against another, either in matters contained in the holy scriptures, or else in matters ecclesiastical, which be, adiaphorous, *i. e.* indifferent; and that some special penalties be inflicted upon the transgressors thereof.

“First, for matter of scripture, namely, for this place which is written in the epistle of St Peter, that *Christ went down into hell, and preached to the souls that were in prison*. There have been in my diocese great invectives between the preachers, one against the other, and also partakers with them; some holding, that the going down of Christ his soul to hell, was nothing else but the virtue and strength of Christ his death, to be made manifest and known to them that were dead before. Others say, that *descendit ad inferna*, is nothing else but that Christ did sustain upon the cross the infernal pains of hell, when he called *Pater, quare me dereliquisti*, *i. e.* Father, why hast thou forsaken me? Finally, others preach, that this article is not contained in other symbols, neither in the symbol of Cyprian, or rather Rufine. And all these sayings they ground upon Erasmus, and the Germans, and especially upon the authority of Mr Calvin and Mr Bullinger. The contrary side bring for them *the universal consent, and all the fathers of both churches, both of the Greeks and the Latins*. For of the Latin fathers, they bring in St Austin, St Ambrose, St Jerome, Gregory the Great, Casiodore, Sedulius, Vigilius, Primasius, Leo, with others, as it may appear in the places by them alleged. Of the Greek fathers, they allege Chrysostom, Eusebius, Emisenus, Damascen, Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssen,



Epiphanius, Athanasius, with others. Which all both Latins and Grecians do plainly affirm, *quod anima Christi fuit vere per se in inferna, i. e.* that the soul of Christ was truly of itself in hell; which they all with one universal consent have assertively written from time to time, by the space of 1100 years, not one of them varying from another.

“Thus, my right honourable good lords, your wisdoms may perceive, what tragedies and dissensions may arise for consenting to, or dissenting from, this article. Wherefore your grave, wise, and godly learning might do well and charitably, to set some certainty concerning this doctrine; and chiefly because all dissensions, contentions, and strifes may be removed from the godly affected preachers.

“MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL.—Secondly, for matters ecclesiastical which be indifferent, there be some preachers, which cannot abide them, but do murmur, spurn, kick, and very sharply do inveigh against them, naming them things of iniquity, devilish, and papistical: namely, I know one preacher, not of the basest sort nor estimation, which did glory and boast that he made eight sermons in London, against surplices, rochets, tippetts, and caps, counting them not to be perfect that do wear them. And although it be all one in effect, to wear either round caps, square caps, or bottomed caps, yet it is thought very meet, that we being of one profession, and in one ministry, should not vary and jangle one against the other for matters indifferent; which are made politic by the prescribed order of the prince. Therefore if your honourable wisdoms do not take some way, that either they may go as we go in apparel, or else that we may go as they do, it will be a thing, as it is already, both odious and scandalous unto no small number,

“DISCIPLINE.—*Imprimis*, where it hath been heretofore accustomed by the bishops, their archdeacons and spiritual officers, to give out letters of correction for incontinency, and to change *penam publicam, i. e.* public punishment,

into *pœnam pecuniarum insubsidium pauperum, aut alios pios usus*, i. e. punishment in money, for the supply of the poor, or other pious uses; and yet neither the sum of money signified, what is given, nor the fact openly declared in those places where the crime was committed, whereby great offence hath risen, and suspicion of bribery grown toward the bishops, their officers, and archdeacons; may it please your wisdoms, that order may be taken hereafter, that if any such commutation of penance be used, the offender may signify unto the congregation both where he dwelleth, and also that congregation where the fact was committed, with his penitent submission, asking God mercy, and the congregation for his offence; and that the sum of money by him given be opened by the parson, vicar or curate, to the parish; that the same may be put to the poor man's box, or else distributed by the hands of the churchwardens straightway to the poor, or to any other godly use.

“*Item*, that there be some order taken for the punishment of them that do walk and talk in the church, at time of common-prayer and preaching, to the disturbance of the ministers, and offence of the congregation.”

On the 25th of January, 1564, the queenad dressed a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, requiring him “to confer with the bishops of his province, and others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for the redressing disorders in the church, occasioned by different doctrines and rites; and for taking order to admit none unto preferment but those that are conformable.” She required his grace to desire his suffragans “to admit none to any office or room ecclesiastical who are not prepared to keep such order and uniformity in all the external rites and ceremonies both for the church and their own persons, as by laws, good usages, and orders are already provided.” The obedient archbishop directed his suffragans to act in accordance with the royal injunction. This was no pleasant or easy duty to the bishops, as the prejudice against the rites and ceremonies of the Christian church, and especially against the use

of the surplice, was as strong among the ignorant then as it is now. The bishop of Exeter again came forward and wrote a letter containing advices for the church in matters of doctrine and discipline, stating that for his own diocese he wished some order might be taken for the habits; for that there was much preaching about them, to the great disturbance of the people. He said he knew one that boasted he had preached seven or eight sermons against the habits. He wished that they might either be confirmed by authority, or laid aside, that so there might be no more contention about them."—(Strype's Parker, vol. 1. p. 310.

Bishop Alley died in 1570. Besides translating the Pentateuch for the bishop's bible, he published a commentary on the 1st epistle of St Peter.—*Biog. Brit.* Strype's *Annals.* *Life of Parker.*

ALLIX, PETER, was born at Alençon, in the year 1641, and was educated at Saumur, and afterwards at Sedan. He became a preacher first at St Agnobile, in Champagne, and afterwards in 1673, at Charenton, near Paris. Here he preached some sermons in favour of protestantism, which were afterwards printed in Holland. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Mr Allix found himself obliged to quit France; he had prepared a pathetic discourse, which he intended to have delivered as his farewell to his congregation, which however he was obliged to omit; but the sermon was afterwards printed. In 1685, by the advice of his friends, he retired into England, where he met with a most favourable reception, on account of his extensive learning, and his singular knowledge in ecclesiastical history. Upon his arrival here, he applied very closely to the study of the English language, which he attained to a great degree of perfection, as appeared by a book he published in defence of the Christian religion, dedicated to king James II. acknowledging his obligations to that prince, and his kind behaviour to the distressed refugees in general. He was soon complimented with the



degree of doctor in divinity, and in the year 1690, having received orders in the English church, he had the treasurership of Salisbury conferred upon him. He wrote in English several treatises relating to ecclesiastical history, which proved very useful to the protestant cause, and in a short time became as famous in England as he had been in France, for his ingenious and solid defences of the reformed religion, from reason and authority, from the practice of early ages, and from the precepts of the gospel. Dr Allix died at London, February 21, 1717, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The following is a list of Dr Allix's chief works. 1. *Réponse à dissertation sur Bertram et Jean Scot ou Erigène qui est à la fin du 1 tom. de la perpétuité de M. Arnaud.* This was printed at the end of Claude's answer to Arnaud, 1670, and Father Anselm Paris (the author of the dissertation,) replied by a treatise called *Créance de l'Eglise Grecque sur la transubstantiation.* Dr Allix then published—2. *Ratramne ou Bertram, &c. en Latin et en Français; Rouen, 1672, 12mo.* 3. *Dissertatio de Trisagii origine; auctore P. A. V.D.M. Rothomagi, 1674, 8vo.* 4. *Dissertatio de Sanguine D. N. J. C. ad epistolam S. Augustini quâ num adhuc existat inquiritur.* 5. *Dissertatio de Tertulliani vita et scriptis.* 6. *Dissertatio de conciliorum quorumvis definitionibus.* 7. *Anastasii Sinaitæ Anagogicarum Contemplationum in Hexahemeron, lib. xii. hactenus desideratus, Græcè et Lat. cum notis Dacerii, præmissa expostulatio de S. J. Chrysostomi epistola ad Cæsarium a Parisiensibus theologis nuper suppressa; Londini, 1682, 4to* 8. *Reflections upon the books of the holy scriptures, &c. dedicated to king James, London, 1688, 2 vols 8vo.* *Determinatio F. Joannis Parisiensis de modo existendi corp. Christ. in sacramento Altaris, &c. Lon. 1686, with a history of transubstantiation.* 10. *Remarks on the churches of Piedmont, 1690.* 11. *Remarks on the ancient churches of the Albigenes, 1692,* 12. *The Judgment of the Jewish church against the Unitarians, &c.* 13. *De Messiæ duplici, adventu dissertationes duæ ad-*

versus Judæos; Lond. 1701, 12mo. 14. *Dissertatio de J. Christi D. N. anno et mense natali*; Lond. 1707 and 1710. 15. *The Prophecies which Mr Whiston applies to the times immediately following the appearance of the Messiah, considered and examined*; Lond. 1707, 8vo. 16. *Preparations à la Cène*, 8vo. Also, some sermons in French, &c.

ALSOP, VINCENT, was born in Northamptonshire, and educated at St John's college, Cambridge. He was ordained deacon, and became usher in a school at Oakham. Here he married the daughter of a puritan minister, Mr King, and through her influence embraced the presbyterian faith. As a presbyterian minister he settled at Wilby, in Northamptonshire. By the puritans, when triumphant at the rebellion, the clergy were ejected from their livings, for not receiving the doctrines of puritanism, and renouncing those of the church; at the restoration it was to be expected that the clergy should receive their own again, and those presbyterian preachers who refused to conform were in their turn ejected. Among the non-conformists Alsop was one. Although we cannot admit that there was any hardship in restoring to the right owners what had been wrested from them by violence, robbery, and wrong, we may admire the constancy of those who suffered deprivation for conscience sake. Although the non-conforming sufferers at the restoration were few, compared, with the orthodox clergy who suffered under the rebellion, yet those who did suffer deserve our sympathy. Alsop became the minister of a dissenting congregation in Westminster. By James II. Alsop's son had been pardoned when guilty of treasonable practices, and by the father the royal clemency was always remembered with deep gratitude. Although attached to the principles of the revolution, he always spoke of James with respect. He is supposed to have been the author of the presbyterians' address to the king, on his majesty's declaration of liberty of conscience, which is here given, together with

the royal answer. The reader will probably be surprised at the liberality of the king.

“ May it please your most sacred majesty, to believe the thankfulness of our hearts, beyond any expressions of our lips or pens, for your most gracious declaration of liberty for us, in the worship of God, which we trust we shall ever value above our property, as that, without which we could enjoy nothing which we could call our own, without the greatest uneasiness imaginable ; but your majesty having in the same declaration also secured that unto us both by your royal word and act : what could your majesty have done more for us ? or what is left for us further to ask of the king ? And forasmuch as it hath pleased your most excellent majesty, to give this safe port to your poor subjects, so long tossed with tempests, and justly to believe that loyalty is not entailed to a party, as we hope we shall ever justify the credit which your majesty’s charity in that point hath given us : so we shall not cease to bow our knees to the God whom we serve, and by whom kings reign, beseeching him to recompense this royal favour to your majesty, with length of days, uninterrupted health, felicity in your royal relations, success in your great councils and affairs, and, finally, with the most glorious liberty of the sons of God, heartily crying, as with one voice, let the king live for ever.”

The king’s Answer was,—“ *Gentlemen*,—I have already found two good effects of my declaration ; the easing and pleasing my subjects you spake of, and my restoring to God the empire over conscience. It has been my judgment a long time, that none has, or ought to have any power over the conscience but God. I understand there are some jealousies among my subjects, that I have done this in a design ; but you look like gentlemen of too great ingenuity to entertain any such suspicion. Gentlemen, I protest before God, and I desire you to tell all manner of people of all persuasions, as you have opportunity to converse with them, that I have no other design than that I have spoke of. And, gentlemen,



I hope to live to see the day, when you shall as well have Magna Charta for the liberty of conscience, as you have had for your properties. And now, gentlemen, do you so preach to your hearers as they may be good christians, and then, I do not question but they will be good subjects." Alsop died in 1703.—*Biog, Brit. Calamy. Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis.*

ALTHAMER, ANDREW, one of the most eminent of the German reformers, was born in 1498, at Brenz, near Gundelfingen, in Suabia, and from this circumstance he is sometimes called Andreas Brentius. In 1527 and 1528 he assisted at the conferences at Berne, on the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, where he held with Luther the doctrine of consubstantiation. Finding that the doctrine of the celebrated reformer, Martin Luther, differed from the doctrine of St James, he assumed the infallibility of Luther, and excluded the epistle of the inspired St James from the canon of Scripture, until, like Luther, he found a way of understanding St James, as we should now say, in the non-natural sense. St James says, "ye see how by works a man is justified, and *not* by faith only." Martin Luther asserts the contrary. The difficulty is easily met when St James is understood in a non-natural sense. Althamer published—1. *Conciliationes locorum scripturæ*, 8vo. 2. *Annotationes in Jacobi Epistolam*. 3. *De Peccato Originali*. 4. *De Sacramento Altaris*. He likewise published a Dictionary of Scripture Names, and some notes on the Germany of Tacitus. J. Arnold Ballensted published a life of him in 1740.—*Seckendorf. Bayle.*

ALTING, HENRY, was born at Embden, in 1583. His father Menson Alting, was one of the first who preached the doctrines of the reformation in Groningen, under the tyranny of Alva. He died in 1612. The son was educated at Herborn, and in 1605, became private tutor to three young noblemen, who studied with the electoral prince at Sedan, from whence they all removed to Heidelberg. In

1612, Alting accompanied the young elector to England, when that prince espoused the daughter of James the first. On his return to Heidelberg, he was appointed professor of the Common Places of divinity, on which occasion he took his doctor's degree. In 1616 he became rector of the Collegium Sapientiæ, and was nominated one of the deputies to the synod of Dort. In 1622 he very narrowly escaped with his life, when count Tilly took Heidelberg by storm. Having joined his family, he removed to Embden, and in 1627, accepted the divinity professorship at Groningen. He died in 1644. His works are—1. *Notæ in decadem problematum J. Behm.* 2. *Loci communes*, 3 vols. 3. *Exegesis Augustanæ confessionis.* 4. *Methodus theologiæ*, 4to. 5. *Explicatio Catacheseos Palatinæ*, 4to. 6. *Historia Ecclesiastica Palatina*, 4to.—*Moreri.*

ALTING, JAMES, son of the above, was born at Heidelberg in 1618. Having completed his studies he came to England, and was ordained by Dr Prideaux, bishop of Worcester. In 1643 he was chosen Hebrew professor at Groningen, and in 1667, professor of divinity, in conjunction with Des Marets, with whom, however, he had so violent a dispute, that the university of Leyden was resorted to for its advice, and the judgment returned was a censure on both parties. Alting died in 1679, and his works were published at Amsterdam in 1687, in 5 vols. folio.—*Bayle.*

ALYPIUS, the friend of St. Augustine, baptized with him at Milan, in 388; consecrated bishop of Tagasta in Africa, in 394. In 403 he assisted in the attempt made to bring the Donatists to unity in the council of Carthage. In 411 he assisted St. Augustine in the conference at Carthage, on the same subject. In 419 he was sent by the African bishops to Honorius, when he was employed by pope Boniface in confuting the Pelagians. He died in 430.

AMBROSE, (Saint.) This distinguished prelate and Father

of the church was born about the year 340. His father, whose name was also Ambrose, was prætorian prefect of the Gauls, and St Ambrose was born in the prætorian palace, but whether that was at Arles, Lyons, or Treves, is not decided. As in the case of Plato, a swarm of bees alighted on his mouth while he lay asleep in his father's palace, and then flew away without injuring him. His father augured from this circumstance the future eloquence of his child. The father of St Ambrose dying while he was yet an infant, his mother left Gaul and returned to Rome, her native country. At Rome she devoted herself to the education of her children, and Ambrose profited not only by her instructions, but also by the pious example of his sister, Marcellina, and other holy virgins with whom she associated.

When his education was finished, he so distinguished himself that he was appointed governor of the provinces of Liguria and Æmilia with consular dignity, and in 374 he took up his residence at Milan. When his friend and patron, Anicius Probus, prætorian prefect of Italy, dismissed him to his government, he used these memorable words, "Go thy way and govern more like a bishop than a judge." The prudence and discretion of the young governor were soon called into play, for in this same year died Auxentius, the Arian bishop, who, upon the banishment of St Dionysius, had usurped the see of Milan, and held it tyrannically for twenty years. The city long under the influence of the Arians was distracted by party violence, with reference to the election of the new bishop; the liberal and latitudinarian, as we should now style them, among the clergy and people, demanding an Arian, the orthodox, a Catholic, for their pastor. To quell the rising tumult, St Ambrose proceeded to the cathedral where the meeting for nominating the new bishop was held; and there he addressed the assembly exhorting them to proceed to their choice of a bishop in the spirit of peace. While he was yet speaking, an infant voice on a sudden exclaimed thrice, "Ambrose bishop:" to this exclamation the whole assem-



bly at once responded, and all parties seeming at once to forget their differences, Catholics and Arians, with one voice proclaimed him bishop of Milan.

In those days the bishopric was regarded as an office so awfully responsible, involving so much of self-denial, and such entire devotion to God, that a conscientious person might well be excused for shrinking from it. For several days did St Ambrose have recourse to expedients which, according to our notions, would be called extravagant, in order to escape an office, the duties of which he could only discharge by renouncing that world in which he had hitherto lived, and to the highest honours of which he was aspiring. He absconded; but the emperor Valentinian, as well as the prefect Probus, having confirmed the act of the people of Milan, published an edict against all who should conceal him; and at length St Ambrose delivered himself. He was only a catechumen, and he urged the canons, which forbade any one who was only a catechumen from being advanced to the priesthood; but it was replied, that on such an emergency the ecclesiastical canons might be dispensed with. He was baptized, and eight days after, the 7th of December, 374, when he was about thirty-four years of age, he was consecrated bishop of Milan.

No sooner was he consecrated than he devoted himself to his new duties with an earnestness worthy of all imitation. Instead of purchasing plate and furnishing his palace and vying with the nobles of the land in the luxury of his table, he gave to the church and the poor all the gold and silver he possessed; his lands and estates also he gave to the church, reserving only an income for the use of his sister Marcellina, during her life. The care of his family and of his temporalities he committed to his brother Satyrus, while he applied himself diligently to the study of the Scriptures, and the perusal of ecclesiastical writers, especially of Origen and St Basil. His instructor was Simplicianus, who succeeded him in the archbishopric of Milan. He superintended the hospital, looked after the

poor, and received every one with kindness. He preached continually, and administered the holy communion every day, and during the first three years of his episcopate published some of his most valuable treatises. Such was the conduct and such the labours of a bishop of the fourth century! So successful were his exertions that in the year 385, he tells us that not one citizen of Milan was infected with the Arian heresy, except a few Goths, and some persons belonging to the imperial family.

Soon after the consecration of St Ambrose, Valentinian died of apoplexy, and was succeeded in 375 by his sons Gratian and Valentinian the younger. It was to guard Gratian against the snares of Arianism that St Ambrose wrote his treatise on the Holy Spirit, in 381. During the reign of Gratian, the Goths had extended their ravages from Thrace into Illyricum, and as far as the Alps. St Ambrose, not content with laying out all the money he could raise in redeeming the captives, employed for that purpose the gold vessels belonging to the church which he caused to be broken up and melted; not the vessels which had been consecrated for the Eucharist, which were reserved for a more pressing necessity, but all those which were intended only for ornament. The Arians reproached him on this account, but he replied that it was more expedient to save men's souls than to preserve the gold; for not only the lives of the captives and the honour of the women were preserved, but the children were prevented from being educated in idolatry. His conduct on this occasion deserves to be contrasted with his resolute opposition to Justina, which is about to be related, and may serve to shew us that, if means be wanted to meet the present spiritual destitution of our own country, relapsing fast into heathenism as it is, there will be nothing contrary to the spirit of the church, if any of our spiritual rulers should part with their plate, and obtain permission to sell their estates, in order to increase the number of labourers in our Lord's vineyard.

The untimely death of Gratian was a severe blow to

St Ambrose. The government of Italy devolved upon Valentinian the younger; and he was under the influence of Justina his mother, a woman of ungovernable temper, who belonged to the Arian faction. On the death of Gratian, the imperial family was in considerable danger. Maximus the tyrant had entered Treves in triumph, and the court expected him to march immediately across the Alps and make himself master of the Western Empire. Justina appealed to St Ambrose, whose name was almost the last word uttered by her dying son, but whom she had herself treated with contempt. St Ambrose went himself to the camp of Maximus and there, by the justice of his arguments, strengthened by the power of his eloquence, obtained a promise from him that he would not invade Italy.

When rescued from danger, the ambitious empress, instead of feeling gratitude to the bishop, regarded him with feelings of jealousy. Her court at Milan was the resort of the Arian or low church party. Among the pagans who were still numerous, especially among the aristocrats, who piqued themselves on the constancy with which they adhered to the religion of their ancestors, the Arians, as the most liberal class of Christians were popular. Having thus formed a strong faction, Justina thought she might with impunity attack the bishop, and she demanded of him the Portian basilica or church, for the use of the Arians. St Ambrose, who could boldly face a triumphant rebel, was not likely to succumb to the civil authorities when interfering with the things of the church. His duty was clear; the churches were the property not of the state but of Christ: he was the representative of Christ, and, as such, he was in duty bound not to concede what had been committed to him in trust. He boldly asserted, "the palace is the emperor's, the church is the bishop's." The people supported their bishop: the soldiers attempted to take possession of the church, the people resisted. A tumult ensued, and the government committed many of the chief persons of the city to prison, levying a heavy



fine upon the merchants. St Ambrose was commanded to compose the tumult and resign the church : he replied, that if asked for his patrimony, his wealth, his liberty, or his blood, he was willing to yield every thing, although his property in truth belonged to the poor ; but that he could not submit to the imperial power the things of God. From the tribune of the emperor, where he had thus declared his intentions, he returned to the church, and there he passed the day. Justina sent a band of Goths to invest the church, and apprehend the bishop, confiding in the Arian prejudices of that race. But they joined themselves with the people, and listened with them to their bishop's discourse upon patience ; the history of Job forming one of the lessons of the day. The empress was obliged to yield : the prisons were opened ; the fines upon the people removed ; the soldiers were ordered to relinquish the churches ; and the triumph of the church over the tyrannical heresy of the court was complete.

In the next year the revengeful Justina obtained the re-enactment of some laws in favor of the Arians, and so in the following Lent she again demanded the Portian church, and was again defeated. The bishop had sentence of exile passed upon him, and it was attempted to place an Arian teacher upon his throne, but the people were once more his protectors. At this period St Ambrose introduced into Milan cathedral the custom which he had learned in the eastern churches, of saying the psalms alternately by two choirs, or, as it is commonly styled, of antiphonal singing. This heavenly music so excited the enthusiasm of the people, that they felt they were ready to die for St Ambrose and the Catholic faith, while by its adaptation to the tone of Catholic feeling it soon spread throughout the churches of the west, and modified by subsequent improvements in the science of music, is still the delight of our cathedrals.

The imperial court was once more compelled to seek aid of the man whose ruin they had so frequently attempted. Maximus, regardless of his word, determined

to invade Italy, and although St Ambrose again went to Treves to plead the cause of the empire, his mission was not now successful as it had been before. Italy was invaded; Valentinian and his mother fled into the east, where they obtained the assistance of Theodosius the great. By Theodosius the usurper was defeated and slain in 388, and the power of Valentinian, his brother-in-law, was every where restored.

Not only did Theodosius subdue all before him, and enjoy a splendid triumph at Rome, but he maintained with zeal the Catholic cause against the Arians, and, Justina being now dead, persuaded Valentinian himself to embrace the truth.

This was a happy time for St Ambrose; but human happiness is but of short continuance, and over Theodosius himself he had soon to exercise his authority. In 390 the people of Thessalonica, having broken out into open riot, and murdered some of their military rulers, Theodosius expressed his determination to visit that city with severe and summary punishment. But St Ambrose and the bishops interceded for them, and obtained a promise of pardon from the emperor; a promise which he was unfortunately persuaded to retract, as affording a dangerous example of leniency. The consequence was that an order for military execution was served upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Thessalonica, and in the space of three hours, seven thousand persons were indiscriminately murdered, without accusation and without trial. What an awful thing is absolute power! What a monster is man when released from law, or placed above it!

Theodosius was not at Milan when the news of this massacre arrived, but he was expected to return in a few days, and St Ambrose withdrew from the city to avoid an interview. He wrote to him, and the letter, which is extant, is worthy of a pastor who is always regarded as a model of Christian faithfulness and zeal. Soon after the prelate had returned, the emperor presented himself at the church according to custom. St Ambrose repelled him: "Stay,"

said the undaunted pastor; "in the profaneness of sin, with hands polluted with innocent blood, none may enter the holy place and partake of the sacred mysteries!" In vain did the monarch seek to excuse himself by the example of David, who had sinned and was restored to the favor of the Almighty: "You have imitated him in his sin," Ambrose sternly replied, "imitate him in his repentance." Theodosius yielded to the voice of the Church, and submitted to the canonical penance. For eight months he remained suspended from Christian communion, and passed the time in his palace in great agony of mind. At Christmas, 390, he was restored to the company of the faithful. As he approached the church, on this occasion, he laid aside his imperial robes; and prostrated on the ground, he struck his breast, and said, in the words of David, "My soul cleaveth to the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word." All the people were melted into tears, and lifted up their voices in prayer with their emperor and bishop, the bishop being the most affected of all. If the reader be tempted to ask, where are we to look for such a faithful bishop in our own degenerate age? we must ask in reply, where shall we find a sovereign thus alive to the claims of religion?

Before St Ambrose would admit Theodosius to absolution, he insisted on his passing a law, that the execution of all decrees touching the life of citizens, or the confiscation of their property, should be delayed until the expiration of thirty days after its promulgation; thus did he obtain a wholesome check upon the exercise of despotic power.

We may here record another triumph of St Ambrose; the conversion, namely, of St Augustine. St Augustine, before his conversion, attended the preaching of St Ambrose for the purpose of acting as a critic, and deciding upon his merits as an orator. He pronounced St Ambrose to be inferior in point of eloquence to Faustus the Manichee. Although he thus approached St Ambrose from unworthy motives, his intercourse with the archbishop



terminated in his conversion ; and it is said that the *Te Deum* was uttered unpremeditatedly, in alternate verses, by him and St Ambrose, immediately after he had received baptism at the hands of the latter.

It is also said that some miracles were performed by St Ambrose ; and certainly the historical testimony in their favor is very strong. The legendary miracles, however, of the middle ages have made people incredulous as to the fact of miracles in general, except where the testimony in their favour is divine. And the attempt which has of late been made to revive the legends, as if they were of authority, will, we fear, have a tendency the reverse of that which is intended, and promote a sceptical feeling. It is like overstating a case : a proceeding injurious to the best of causes.

Valentinian having been murdered in 392, Theodosius once more visited Italy as its liberator, and constituted himself sole emperor. He took up his abode at Milan, where he died the following year. His funeral oration was pronounced by Ambrose ; who himself fell asleep in the Lord on the 4th of April, 397.

The writings of St Ambrose consist of Essays or Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures ; treatises on faith and practice ; two funeral orations on the emperors Valentinian the younger and Theodosius ; and such of his public and private epistles as have been preserved to us. These last are of great value, from the light that they throw on the sacred and civil history of the time.

His essays on the historical portions of the Old Testament, which form a large proportion of his works, appear to have been originally delivered in the form of sermons. They are as remarkable as any other commentaries of the primitive church, for the constant use of the allegorical or typical mode of interpretation, (which he had learnt from Origen and the Alexandrian school) of theologians, finding in all ancient history something of the nature of parable, some mystical meaning, or shadows of persons or events that were to arise under the gospel times. Thus, Jacob

in the raiment of Esau, is a type of the Christian people, learning to interpret the law and the prophets, which lay neglected in the hands of the Jews; Rachel, labouring in the birth of Benjamin, is a type of the Church suffering in persecution, till St Paul was converted, and became "the son of her right hand." The four rivers of Paradise are the four cardinal virtues; the five kings overcome by four, (Gen xiv.) represent the five bodily senses overcome by the temptations of the four elements of the present world. Modern critics have laboured much to discourage the use of these allegorical interpretations; and, of course, when they stand on any uninspired authority, they are open to criticism: but it may be doubted whether modern theology has not lost much of spiritual instruction by too often discarding all but the literal sense; and at least it is certain, that many allegories of the New Testament, as that of St Paul on the history of Hagar, (Gal. iv.) are to all appearance quite as remote from the first meaning of the text of the more ancient Scriptures. The effect which this kind of preaching had on St Augustine, while he listened to St Ambrose, was such as he long afterwards remembered with gratitude: and his words may serve to guide us to the principle by which it was regulated. "I rejoiced," he says, "when I heard Ambrose often saying in his sermons to the people, and recommending it very diligently as a rule, *The letter killeth; but the Spirit giveth life*: for thus many things, which taken literally, seemed to teach something strange or unsound, when the mystical veil was taken off, and he opened their spiritual meaning, were set forth in language which pleased me, even before I knew whether to accept his interpretation as true." (Confess. vi. 4.)

With these figurative interpretations, however, which are so pleasing to men whose imagination is active, and who love to contemplate on the deep things of Scripture, St Ambrose every where united the most sound practical instruction. This is eminently the character of his treatise 'On the Duties of the Clergy,' (De officiis

Ministrorum,) of which Milner has said with great truth, that "it deserves to be made a part of an episcopal charge in every age of the church." This work seems to have been partly founded on the heathen treatises on morals, which it aims to elevate to a Christian standard. Hence some modern critics, who follow the popular notion that morals and religion are distinct things, have found fault with the plan of the writer; but the truth seems to be, that he designed, while principally giving advice to the clergy, to say what might be profitable to Christians in all classes of the community. The work contains some remarkable narrations relating to persons and events of his own time, which he introduces to illustrate the point of duty which he is teaching; as in the following passage:

"There is a kind of modesty," he says, "to be observed in the very motions, gestures, and gait with which you walk; for the habit of the mind is seen in the posture of the body. The hidden man of the heart is thus judged to be either inclined to trifling vanity, or to arrogance, or to violent passions: or on the other side to gravity, firmness, purity, and ripe wisdom. The motions of the body in some sort speak the language of the soul.

"You remember, my sons, a certain friend of ours, who seemed commendable for his diligent attention to his duties, but was not admitted into the number of the clergy, being set aside by me for this sole reason, that his gestures were very unbecoming the gravity of such a calling. There was also another, whom I had found already admitted into holy orders, but whom I forbade ever to walk before me in my public ministrations, because his strange and irreverent gait was a kind of eyesore to me. I made this prohibition as a reserve, when I restored him to his place, after he had been guilty of an offence, for which he was for a time suspended. My opinion in each case was justified by the event; for each of them deserted the church, and proved that the faithless inconstancy of their minds was such as was indicated by their mien and pace. One, in the time of the Arian molestation, forsook the faith,



the other, through love of money, wishing to escape an ecclesiastical sentence, denied that he was one of us. The appearance which I had noted in both was one of trifling levity; their walk was something like that of buffoons who travel to exhibit themselves up and down." (De Offic. l. c. 18.)

None, who understand human nature, will fail to appreciate this caution; and it would be well if the lesson were remembered in an age when outward gravity and decorum are discarded as nothing better than affectation, and the tricks of buffoons are not entirely unknown to the pulpit.

The works of St Ambrose, as Dupin admits, have been more corrupted in the common editions than those of any other of the Fathers. They were printed at Paris in 2 vols. folio 1540; and afterwards at Rome more incorrectly. The Benedictine edition is in two volumes folio, 1686. This edition was reprinted at Venice in four vols. folio 1748; and its texts, without its copious indices, in four vols. 8vo. at Paris, 1836.—PAULINI *Vit. S. Ambros. Life appended to Benedictine edition. Theodoret. Tillemont. Dupin.*

AMBROSE, the Deacon, was converted by Origen from the Valentinian heresy, and became a deacon of the church of Alexandria. He married Marcella, and had several children. He was a man of fortune, and assisted Origen, supplying him with amanuenses or copyists when he was writing his commentaries on Scripture. Origen calls him his task-master.—*Eusebius. Epiphanius.*

AMBROSE, ISAAC, was born in Lancashire, and bred at Brasenose college, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A.; after which he entered into orders, and served a small cure in his own county. On the breaking out of the rebellion, he quitted the church of England, took the covenant, and became a presbyterian preacher, first at Garstang, and afterwards at Preston. He was assistant to the commissioners appointed by the rebels for the ejection

tion of those whom they called "scandalous, ignorant, and inefficient ministers and schoolmasters." By these were meant all who held the principles of the church of England. It ought always to be remembered that seven thousand clergymen refused to take the covenant in the great rebellion, and were therefore ejected from their livings. The puritans supplied the livings vacated by the ejection of the orthodox clergy, with many of their own party; but when, at the restoration, all who had possession of the benefices in England, were called upon to conform, or to resign, of the seven thousand, who had been thus unjustly and sacrilegiously intruded, only two thousand refused to conform, and they were ejected from what?—their rights?—no, their usurpations. The remaining five thousand conformed and retained possession, so that many of the previously ejected clergymen were sorely disappointed and cruelly used; and what was worse, as they conformed, not on principle, but to save their livings, a leaven of puritanism continued in the church; and that lax observance of the rubric prevailed in many places which it is difficult now to remedy. Among the two thousand, who proved the sincerity of their puritanism, Ambrose was one. He died in 1674. His works in folio are much esteemed by Calvinists; particularly one treatise, called "Looking unto Jesus."—*Biog. Brit. Calamy.*

AMES, WILLIAM, born in Norfolk, in 1576, and educated at Christ college, Cambridge, where he became a rigid puritan; on which, to avoid expulsion, he went to Franeker, in Holland; and was chosen professor of divinity. He afterwards settled at Rotterdam, as pastor of a congregation of Brownists in that city, and died there in 1633. The principal of his works is entitled "Medulla Theologica." His son William was ejected from the living of Wrentham, in Suffolk, in 1662, and died in 1689. He published a sermon, called "The Saint's Security." About the year 1610-11, a sermon of his gave great of-

fence, according to Fuller, who relates that Mr Ames, “preaching at St Mary’s,” or to use his own expression, “having the place of a *watchman* for an hour in the *tower* of the university,” inveighed against sundry practices of that day—especially against the custom of “Lords of misrule, then kept up in some colleges, a pagan custom, which, Polydore Virgil had observed, remained only in England.” He then condemned cards and dice; stating, that as “God invented the one-and-twenty letters, whereof he made the bible, the devil, saith an author, found out the one-and-twenty spots on the die;” that “canon law forbids the use thereof, seeing *Inventio Diaboli nulla consuetudine potest validari*,” &c. Fuller says, that he left the university in consequence of the offence thus given, and in order to avoid expulsion; because there was a concurrence of much nonconformity.”

If for this sermon he was obliged to leave the university, it was very disgraceful to the Heads of Houses. Much were it to be wished that those high personages would attend more to the morals, godliness, and self-discipline of the youth committed to their charge, in which their office and authority are unquestionable, and would interfere less with sermons, and with the theology of doctors and masters, who have not exceeded the liberty which the Church has left them, whatever may be the bias of individual feelings for or against their opinions: an interference in which their authority is by many denied, and their ability questioned by all. It has been insinuated that Ames left England owing to the persecution of archbishop Bancroft; but the falsehood of this assertion is proved by the fact that the archbishop was dead before the above-mentioned sermon was delivered.—Neal’s *Hist of Puritans*. Fuller.

AMIOR, Father, a French jesuit, and missionary in China, was born at Toulon in 1718. He arrived at Macao in 1750, and from thence proceeded to Pekin, where he remained forty-three years; during which time he became a complete master of the Chinese and Tartar languages.



The chief of his publications were—1. A Chinese poem in praise of the city of Moukden, by the emperor Kien Long, translated into French, with notes, and printed at Paris in 1770, 8vo. 2. The Chinese military art, 1772, 4to. 3. Letters on the Chinese Characters, addressed to the Royal Society of London, and printed in their Transactions. 4. On the Music of the Chinese, printed in “*Memoires sur les Chinois*,” vol. vi. 5. The Life of Confucius; in the same collection. 6. *Dictionnaire Tatarmantcheon, Français*, 3 vols. 4to; Paris 1789. He died at Pekin in 1794.—*Biog. Univ.*

AMPHIBALUS, one of our early British confessors, who is said to have been converted and suffered martyrdom with St Alban, in the persecution under Dioclesian. Geoffrey of Monmouth, according to archbishop Usher, is the first author by whom he is mentioned. (See St. Alban) He died in 286.

AMPHILOCHIUS, SAINT, the friend of St Basil and St Gregory of Nazianzum. After having devoted himself to a life of religious retirement, he was made bishop of Iconium in 374, where in 376 he held a council against the Macedonians. He attended the council of Constantinople in 381, and presided at that of Sidæ, at which the Thessalians were condemned. Amphilochius was living in the year 394, and is said to have died at an advanced age; a collection of pieces under his name, some of which are probably spurious, was published by Combefis, in 1644.—*Eusebius.*

AMSDORF, NICHOLAS. This eminent protestant was born at Wurtzen, in Misnia, of a noble family, in 1483. After studying theology at Wittenberg, he obtained church preferment, but at the commencement of the reformation attached himself to Luther, whom he accompanied to the diet of Worms, and was with that reformer when he was seized by order of the elector of Saxony, and conducted to

Wartburg. He concurred in the articles of Smalcald, and in 1542 was appointed by the elector John Frederic, bishop of Naumburg, but was deprived of that see afterwards by Charles V. and obliged to retire to Magdeburg. He afterwards assisted in founding the university of Jena. He was a strenuous assertor of the Lutheran doctrines, and engaged in a dispute with G. Major. Major maintained the necessity of good works, whereas Amsdorf, pushing the doctrine of his master, Martin Luther, to an extreme, undertook to shew that good works are absolutely hurtful to salvation. It is said, "he was one of the boldest in his time in asserting the impiety and absurdity of popish doctrines, but from his bigoted attachment to Lutheran principles, had too little respect to other reformers who were of different sentiments on some points." The truth is, that the early Lutherans did not hold the Bible, and the Bible only, for their religion: their religion was the Bible and Martin Luther; the opinions of Luther supplying to them that assistance which Catholics find in the tradition of the church. The difference between Catholics and ultra-protestants is this, that the latter build their faith on a book, the former on a doctrine: the Lutherans had not yet gone so far; they had changed their doctrine, but had not arrived, at the conclusion, that every man may interpret the bible according to his private judgment. Amsdorf died at Eisenach, in 1565.—MELCHOIR. ADAM. MORERI.

AMYRAUT, or AMYRALDUS, MOSES, was born in 1596, at Bourguil, in Touraine, and studied theology at Saumur, where he was chosen professor of divinity. It is said, that being a man of moderation, and of high monarchical principles, he was employed by Cardinal Richelieu to ascertain, and, if possible, to remove, the obstacles which stood in the way of union between the different Christian bodies; an object soon discovered to be impracticable. For departing from strict calvinistic notions, he was brought into trouble, and called upon to explain his opinions before the synod of

Alençon. From Peter du Moulin he incurred the charge of heresy. It is evident from this that neither the synod of Alençon nor du Moulin held the right of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture. If they acknowledged this right, on what ground could they charge Amyraut with heresy? The right of private judgment precludes from the charge of heresy every one who receives the Bible, and interprets it according to his own best judgment. If in doing this Amyraut differed from Calvin, Du Moulin, and the synod, he may have been in error, and they might have argued with him on his errors, but to call him a heretic they could have had no right: and his opponents, when doing so, would only have betrayed the malignity of their hearts, if they had admitted the dogma that the Bible only according to each man's private judgment was their religion. But in fact they were consistent, for as the Catholics receive the Bible according to the traditional interpretation of the church, where such interpretation is discoverable, so these French Huguenots received the bible, *and* Calvin, for their religion; and if either the Bible *or* Calvin were repudiated, according to their notions, the offender was heretical. Whether Amyraut was really a heretic on the points in dispute between him and his opponents, is another question; he held that "the benefits of Christ's death were sufficient for all men, though they were only efficacious for the elect."

He was a man respected and beloved even by those who differed from him. He died in 1664.—BAYLE. *Gen. Dict.*

ANACLETUS, or ANENCLETUS, signifying blameless, abbreviated Cletus, was a native of Athens. He succeeded Linus, as second bishop of Rome, and had St Clement for his successor. It is shewn by Dr Burton that he was appointed to the see of Rome by St Peter himself, in the year 68. He died in 91. Some spurious decretals were published in his name at a later period.—*Eusebius. Irenæus. Burton's Lectures on Eccles. Hist.*



ANASTASIUS was elected bishop of Antioch in 561. His zealous opposition to certain parties who held that the body of Christ was incorruptible and impassible, drew upon him the resentment of the emperors Justinian and Justin II. by the latter of whom he was driven into exile. He was recalled by Maurice. He translated the "Pastor" of Gregory into Greek, for the use of the eastern churches. *Biog. Univers.*

ANASTASIUS, called the Sinaite, a monk of mount Sinai, who flourished in the year 678. He was often called from his solitude to combat the Acephali, the Severians, and the Theodorians of Egypt and Syria. He has left—1. a work against the Eutychians, under the name of ὁδηγός, or the guide. 2. Considerations upon the work of Creation. Of this treatise eleven books were printed in Latin, in the Bibliotheca Patrum: the twelfth, which contains some things contrary to transubstantiation, was not printed till the year 1682, when Allix published the original Greek, with a Latin translation. 3. One hundred and fifty-four questions and answers, being a collection of passages from fathers and councils on the spiritual life. These, if they are not the work of another writer, have been much interpolated. He was also the author of several pieces against the heretics of his time. Some sermons of his were printed at the end of the Philocalia of Origen, at Paris, in 1618.—*Biog. Univ.*

ANATOLIUS, a native of Alexandria, who lived in the latter half of the third century. About the year 269 he became bishop of Laodicea. He was more distinguished as a peripatetic philosopher than as a divine. He published a tract upon Easter; of which the genuineness has been disputed by Dupin, and defended by Cave.—*Dupin. Cave.*

ANCILLON, DAVID, was born in 1617, at Metz, in Lorraine, and was educated in the Jesuits' college. The Jesuits endeavoured, but in vain, to convert him to

Romanism. Having become a protestant minister, he settled at Meux. By the good people of Meux his preaching was so much liked, that they were afraid that he might be bribed to leave them by those who could pay more for a popular preacher than they could afford. They resorted therefore to an expedient to retain their preacher without putting themselves to expense, which has often been adopted in England, and which, at the time afforded no little amusement to the Catholics. After thinking of a thousand expedients, they came to the opinion that the surest way to fix him among them, was to marry him to a young lady of fortune who had an estate in the country or near it. A comfortable maintenance was all that he required; and there were several ladies anxious to obtain a husband. At last one of the congregation recollected that M. Ancillon having preached one Sunday in the morning, at Charenton, he was universally applauded, and that a very rich old man, M. Macaire, had said aloud to those who sat near him in the place of meeting, that he had but one daughter, an only child, who would inherit his wealth: she was very dear to him, but, he said, if that eloquent gentleman, M. Ancillon, should come and ask her in marriage, he would give her with all his heart. It was an odd time and place for the old gentleman to be match-making; but the speech was reported to the congregation, who perceived that it would be an economical way of retaining their preacher, and of securing to themselves the comforts of their religion, without the exercise of self-denial. The old gentleman was applied to; the bargain was made. The young lady was only fourteen years old, and she therefore had very little choice in the matter, and Ancillon was married in 1649. The congregation were rewarded by his remaining with them till 1653, when he returned to his own country, where he remained till the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685. He then retired to Frankfort, and afterwards preached in the church of Hanau. Here his preaching was so very popular, that hundreds of people who understood not a word

of French, flocked with eagerness to hear him, saying, they loved to see him speak. The Roman Catholics, who had been attacked for praying in Latin, were greatly surprised at the effect produced by *preaching* in an unknown tongue. But all was not prosperous, the jealousy of two other protestant ministers was excited by his popularity, and they resorted to so many of those arts of petty annoyance which jealousy is apt to invent, and there seemed to be so little prospect of their even attempting to bring their evil passions under the control of that religion in behalf of which they exerted their eloquence, that Ancillon retired to Berlin, where he died, full of honors.

His wealth enabled him to collect a large library, which was shamefully plundered by the Roman catholic ecclesiastics of Metz, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He left but few works, and those of no value.—*Discours sur la Vie de M. Ancillon.* BAYLE.

ANDERSON, or ANDREÆ, LAURENCE. The precise time of this Swedish reformer's birth it is difficult to fix. He died in the year 1552, when, according to some authorities, he was one hundred and two years old, and according to Gezelius, seventy-two. About the year 1520 he became a Lutheran, having been converted to protestantism by Olaus Petri, who at that time introduced the Lutheran doctrine into Sweden. Both Anderson and Olaus found in Gustavus Vasa a determined, though at first a secret patron, especially when they appealed to his avarice, and spoke with disapprobation of the power and wealth of the clergy. By Gustavus, Anderson was received into confidence, and made chancellor. The king and the chancellor were resolutely determined on the overthrow of the established church, but they were obliged to proceed with caution, as the people were still devotedly attached to their religion, and were prepared to defend the hierarchy if roughly assailed. Anderson took an early opportunity to declare his opinion that church property was public property; and Gustavus Vasa considering public property



to be the property of the king, applauded the sentiment, and, like our own king Henry VIII., became zealous in the cause of the reformation.

The Catholics had prepared a version of Scripture in the vulgar tongue, being evidently inclined to meet the wants of the age. They had proceeded with caution, their translation being in fact, not a new one, but a revision of one which had been formerly made: but Gustavus knew that a translation must, to a certain extent, partake of the character of a commentary; (that is to say, in passages where the meaning is doubtful, the translator will adopt that which most nearly accords with his own principles;) he therefore encouraged Anderson to make another version, in favour of which, in 1526, he decided. Olaus Petri was Anderson's chief assistant, in this work. This translation was not made from the original, but from Luther's version; it was the translation of a translation, and the Swedish Catholics declared that it had been in some places falsified to favour Lutheran doctrines.

Nothing could be more unpopular than the movement attempted by the king and his ministers. The people regretted to see the poor deprived of their rights, by the confiscation of the property belonging to the monasteries, and did not seem to be pacified by the royal declaration, that what was taken from the monks should be expended in the establishment of schools. The poor were fully aware that they were more likely to obtain an interest in the property, while it remained in the hands of ecclesiastics, than they would when it had been transferred to royal or noble hands. In those days the humblest peasant felt that he might live to see his son, in the character of abbot, possessor of that property which now enriches only one family, and is expended, not upon religion, but upon luxury. At a public meeting on the mounds of Upsal, in 1527, the feeling of the people on the subject was very unequivocally declared; and the life of Anderson was in considerable danger. Nevertheless, at the diet of Westeras, assembled in that same year, Anderson, as chancellor, reminded

the states of the claims of Gustavus Vasa upon the gratitude of the country, and aided the cause of the reformation by an appeal to the cupidity of the members of the diet. He stated the sole object of the king to be, not so much the introduction of a new religion, as the appropriation of church property to the use of the state. The senators preferred their religion to their property; and declared their unwillingness to yield to the state the revenues of the Church. Then Gustavus enacted a scene: bursting into tears, he left the assembly, and desired them to find another king. The farce succeeded, and on the fourth day, Anderson headed a deputation, prepared to wipe the tears from the royal eyes, and was commissioned to offer him the kingdom on his own terms. Gustavus, having carried his point, immediately seized all the property, both of the bishops and the monasteries, and made those changes in ecclesiastical affairs which mark this as the date of the protestant reformation in Sweden. The bishops were despoiled; but episcopacy in Sweden was not destroyed. The Church remained; many Romish abuses were removed, but, unfortunately, many Lutheran corruptions were introduced. Johannes Magnus, archbishop of Upsal, having left the country, the see was declared vacant, and in 1531 the clergy assembled to elect a successor. Anderson was a candidate, but, out of a hundred and fifty, he obtained only thirteen votes. A great many of the ancient ceremonies of the Church remained, for the abolition of which it was known that Anderson was desirous, and this may have been the reason why his ambition was not gratified.

In 1410 he was disgraced. It was discovered that he and Olaus Petri had been cognizant of a plot which had some years before existed against the life of the king, and had not revealed it. Olaus Petri was first accused, and had the meanness to implicate Anderson, who, he affirmed, was as well acquainted with the conspiracy as himself. The two reformers were found guilty, and it was at the

same time laid to their charge that they had given bad advice to the king in the affairs of the Church. By the states of Orebro they were condemned to death. But Gustavus spared the life of his old friend and chancellor, only, acting on the principle of avarice, which that chancellor had encouraged, he took possession of the whole of his property. Churchmen regarded this as a just retribution.

This distinguished reformer survived his disgrace about twelve years; and, as before stated, died in 1552, in poverty and obscurity.—Johannes Magnus' *Historia de omnibus Gothorum regibus*. Aikin's *General Biography*.

ANDREÆ or ANDREAS, JAMES, a German reformer, was born in the duchy of Wirtemberg, in 1528. In 1546 he was appointed minister of the church of Stutgard; but, on the publication of the Interim, he retired to Tubingen. He was at the diet of Ratisbon; he was notary at the conference at Worms, and attended at the diet of Augsburg; soon after he was made chancellor and rector of the university of Tubingen. He was an incessant controversialist, contending against popery on the one hand, and against the reformed, as distinguished from the protestants, on the other; the protestants holding what the reformed denied, the doctrine of the real presence.

But he is chiefly celebrated for the "Liber" or "Formula Concordiæ," a "Form of Concord," which, in conjunction with a board of five theologians, (of which he was president,) he published in 1579. This book is sometimes called "The Book of Torgaw," or "The Book of Berg," from the places at which it was composed, and was received as one of their symbolical books by the Lutherans. The Form of Concord, composed at Torgaw, and reviewed at Berg, says Dr Maclaine, the presbyterian translator of Mosheim, "consists of two parts. In the first is contained a system of doctrine drawn up according to the fancy of the six doctors. In the second is exhibited one of the strongest instances of that tyrannical and persecuting spirit which the protestants complained of in the



church of Rome, even a formal condemnation of all those who differed from these six doctors, particularly in their strong expressions concerning the majesty and omnipresence of Christ's body, and the real manducation of his body and blood in the Eucharist. This condemnation branded with the name of heretics, and excluded from the communion of the church, all Christians of all nations who refused to subscribe these doctrines. More particularly in Germany, the *terrors of the sword* were solicited against these pretended heretics, as may be seen in the testament of Brentius."

It seems quite clear that these early protestants did not hold the doctrine of the Bible, and the Bible only, according to each man's private judgment; but as Dr Maclaine did, it was difficult for him to understand the principle upon which the six doctors acted. Catholics take the Bible, *and* the traditional doctrines of the church, for their religion; the German protestants received the Bible *and* the dogmas of Luther and Melancthon. The six doctors therefore were consistent even if erroneous. Dr Maclaine's surprise at the persecuting spirit of the six doctors is less intelligible. When did protestants ever renounce the doctrine of persecuting for the sake of religion? Protestants and papists were in the times now referred to especially intolerant; and even in our own times, (nominally more tolerant,) there may be found some to sympathize with the six doctors. All members of the church of England are taught that in the Eucharist we receive *verily and indeed* the Body and Blood of Christ; but as Dr Maclaine was a presbyterian, he could not but reject this, the original protestant doctrine. We are induced, therefore, to treat Andreæ with more forbearance than Dr Maclaine, although his deep theological errors we must deplore.

The object held in view by Andreæ and his colleagues was two-fold; first, to terminate by authority the controversies which divided the Lutherans, more especially after the death of the founder of that religion; and secondly, to

preserve the Lutheran institution against the opinion of the reformed or Calvinists in relation to the Eucharist.

"It so fell out," says Mosheim, "that this very *Form*, which was designed to restore peace and concord in the church, and had actually produced this effect in several places, became, nevertheless, a source of new tumults, and furnished matter for the most violent dissensions and contests. It immediately met with a warm opposition from the reformed, and also from all those who were either secretly attached to their doctrine, or who, at least, were desirous of living in concord and communion with them, from a laudable zeal for the common interests of the protestant cause. Nor was their opposition at all unaccountable, since they plainly perceived that this Form removed all the flattering hopes they had entertained of seeing the divisions that reigned among the friends of religious liberty happily healed, and entirely excluded the reformed from the communion of the Lutheran church. Hence they were filled with indignation against the authors of this new Confession of Faith, and exposed their uncharitable proceedings in writings full of spirit and vehemence. The Swiss doctors, with Hospinian at their head, the Belgic divines, those of the Palatinate, together with the principalities of Anhalt and Bade, declared war against the Form of Concord. And accordingly from this period the Lutheran, and more especially the Saxon doctors, were charged with the disagreeable task of defending this new creed and its compilers, in many laborious productions.

"Nor were the followers of Zuingle and Calvin the only opposers of this Form of Concord; it found adversaries, even in the very bosom of Lutheranism, and several of the most eminent churches of that communion rejected it with such firmness and resolution, that no arguments nor entreaties could engage them to admit it as a rule of faith, or even as a means of instruction. It was rejected by the churches of Hesse, Pomerania, Nuremberg, Holstein, Silesia, Denmark, Brunswick, and others.

But though they all united in opposing it, their opposition was, nevertheless, founded on different reasons, nor did they all act in this affair from the same motives and the same principles. A warm and affectionate veneration for the memory of Melancthon was, with some, the only, or at least the predominant motive that induced them to declare against the Form in question; they could not behold, without the utmost abhorrence, a production in which the sentiments of this great and excellent man were so rudely treated. In this class we may rank the Lutherans of Holstein. Others were not only animated in their opposition by a regard for Melancthon, but also by a persuasion, that the opinions, condemned in the new creed, were more conformable to truth, than those that were substituted in their place. A secret attachment to the sentiments of the Helvetic doctors prevented some from approving of the Form under consideration; the hopes of uniting the Reformed and Lutheran churches engaged many to declare against it: and a considerable number refused their assent to it from an apprehension, whether real or pretended, that adding a new creed to the ancient confessions of faith would be really a source of disturbance and discord in the Lutheran church. It would be endless to enumerate the different reasons alleged by the different individuals or communities, who declared their dissent from the Form of Concord.

“This Form was patronized in a more especial manner by Julius, duke of Brunswick, to whom, in a great measure, it owed its existence, who had employed both his authority and munificence in order to encourage those who had undertaken to compose it, and had commanded all the ecclesiastics, within his dominions, to receive and subscribe it as a rule of faith. But scarcely was it published, when that zealous prince changed his mind, suffered the Form to be publicly opposed by Heshusius, and other divines of his university of Helmstadt, and to be excluded from the number of the creeds and confessions



that were received by his subjects. The reasons alleged by the Lutherans of Brunswick, in behalf of this step, were, first, That the Form of Concord, when printed, differed in several places from the manuscript copy to which they had given their approbation; secondly, That the doctrine relating to the *freedom* of the *human will* was expressed in it without a sufficient degree of accuracy and precision, and was also inculcated in the harsh and improper terms that Luther had employed in treating that subject; thirdly, That the *ubiquity*, or universal and *indefinite presence* of Christ's human nature, was therein positively maintained, notwithstanding that the Lutheran church had never adopted any such doctrine. Besides these reasons for rejecting the Form of Concord, which were publicly avowed, others perhaps of a secret nature contributed to the remarkable change, which was visible in the sentiments and proceedings of the duke of Brunswick. Various methods and negotiations were employed to remove the dislike which this prince, and the divines that lived in his territories, had conceived against the creed of Berg. Particularly in the year 1583, a convocation of divines, from Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, was held at Quedlinburg for this purpose. But Julius persisted stedfastly in his opposition, and proposed that the Form of Concord should be examined, and its authority discussed by a general assembly or synod of the Lutheran church.

“ This Form was not only opposed from abroad, but had likewise adversaries in the very country which gave it birth. For even in Saxony, many, who had been obliged to subscribe it, beheld it with aversion, in consequence of their attachment to the doctrine of Melancthon. During the life of Augustus, they were forced to suppress their sentiments; but as soon as he had paid the last tribute to nature, and was succeeded by Christian I, the moderate Lutherans and the secret Calvinists resumed their courage. The new elector had been accustomed, from his tender years, to the moderate sentiments of Melancthon,

and is also said to have discovered a propensity to the doctrine of the Helvetic church. Under his government, therefore, a fair opportunity was offered to the persons above-mentioned of declaring their sentiments and executing their designs. Nor was this opportunity neglected. The attempts to abolish the Form of Concord that had in time past proved unsuccessful, seemed again to be renewed, and that with a design to open a door for the entrance of Calvinism into Saxony. The persons who had embarked in this design, were greatly encouraged by the protection they received from several noblemen of the first rank at the Saxon court, and, particularly from Crellius, the first minister of Christian. Under the auspicious influence of such patrons it was natural to expect success; yet they conducted their affairs with circumspection and prudence. Certain laws were previously enacted, in order to prepare the minds of the people for the intended revolution in the doctrine of the church; and some time after the form of *exorcism* was omitted in the administration of baptism. These measures were followed by others still more alarming to the rigid Lutherans; for not only a new German catechism, favourable to the purpose of the secret Calvinists, was industriously distributed among the people, but also a new edition of the Bible, in the same language, enriched with the observations of Henry Salmuth, which were artfully accommodated to this purpose, was, in the year 1591, published at Dresden. The consequences of these vigorous measures were violent tumults and seditions among the people, which the magistrates endeavoured to suppress, by punishing with severity such of the clergy as distinguished themselves by their opposition to the views of the court. But the whole plan of this religious revolution was, all of a sudden, overturned by the unexpected death of Christian, which happened in the year 1591. Then the face of affairs changed again, and assumed its former aspect. The doctors, who had been principally concerned in the execution of this unsuccessful project, were committed to prison, or sent into

banishment, after the death of the elector; and its chief encourager and patron, Crellius, suffered death in the year 1601, as the fruit of his temerity."

We have thought it well to give here from Mosheim, himself a Lutheran, the history of that controversy, to which the great work of Andreae gave rise.

The labour of Andreae in obtaining the assent of those who signed this famous document must have been great. For five years he was travelling about the country holding conferences with princes, magistrates, and pastors; and it is remarkable, considering the state of the country, and his own fiery temperament, that he never met with any one who molested him. He died at Tübingen on the 7th of January, 1590.—*Melchior Adam. Moreri. Fuller's Abel Redivivus. Mosheim.*

ANDREWES, LANCELOT. This English saint was born on the 25th of September, 1555, in Thames-street, in the parish of All Hallows, Barking, London; he was of an ancient family, and of godly parents, from whom he inherited a sufficient fortune. He was educated first at Cooper's free-school, in Radcliffe, under Mr Ward, and afterwards at Merchant Taylor's school, under the care of Mr Mulcaster. By his extraordinary industry and ability at school, he soon surpassed all his school-fellows, and became so distinguished, "as a Grecian and Hebrecean," that he attracted the notice of Dr Watts, a residentiary of St Paul's, and archdeacon of Middlesex, who had newly founded some scholarships at Pembroke hall, Cambridge. By Dr Watts he was presented to the first of these scholarships: after he had been three years at the university, he was accustomed to go up to London twice every year, to visit his parents; his father was now master of the Trinity House. He performed the journey on foot, until he became a bachelor of divinity, and "professed that he would not then have ridden on horseback but that divers friends began to find fault with him, as if he had forborne riding only to save the charges." During his stay in London,



his father was accustomed to procure for him the assistance of a master, that he might learn some language or art, which he had not attained before. After taking his degree of B.A., he was, in 1576, chosen a fellow of his college; his competitor being Dr Dove, afterwards lord bishop of Peterborough: and about the same time he was appointed one of the first fellows of Jesus college, Oxford, then newly founded by Hugh Price.

His reputation as a scholar and divine, not slight before, was now greatly enhanced by his appointment to the divinity lectureship in his college. In this new capacity he delivered his celebrated catechetical lectures on the ten commandments, every Saturday and Sunday, at three o'clock in the afternoon; and so eminent was his character, that not only the members of the university, but persons from the country flocked to hear him. Nor is it surprising that these lectures should have attracted so much attention; they show the deep foundations which he had then laid in the best learning of every kind, and the great abilities and parts with which he was furnished. "He that shall read and peruse these labours of this reverend author, (observes the writer of the preface to the second edition, 1650,) will find them to be as useful and profitable as any hitherto extant in this kind; and that they contain the most full, complete, learned, and elaborate body of practical divinity that hath been hitherto published." They show that he had, even then, "gone through the whole encyclopædia of divine and human learning," and into these lectures he distilled the very quintessence of all his vast studies, and the matured and active conceptions of his noble soul. It may well raise our admiration, how any scholar at so early and young an age (for he was then but thirty) could have so completely mastered the writings of fathers, schoolmen, casuists, and jurists. So ripe an acquaintance with any one class had been enough for a staple reputation for general scholars, but his knowledge in all was equally profound; so that he alone was master of all, as completely as if he had devoted his time to one subject only.

Indeed so surpassing were his abilities and attainments, that of him it might be truly said, more truly than ever it was of the person to whom the words were originally applied : *Scientia magna, memoria major, judicium maximum, et industria infinita* ; his knowledge was great, his memory greater, his judgment exceeded both, but his labour and industry were infinite, and went beyond them all."

It is a curious fact, that these lectures were published on his own responsibility, by Michael Sparke, the puritan publisher of Prynnes' works, who in his dedication remarks, that "the author of this book is enough praised in naming him, it was Dr Andrewes, the late bishop of Winchester, a man, both at home and abroad, of a good favour for his regular and strict life ; of whom the less is said, the more is said, for that to fetch lustre to his name from a mean style or pen, is to go northward for heat. The work itself is such as, in those days when it was preached, he was scarce reputed a pretender to learning and piety then in Cambridge, who made not himself a disciple of Mr Andrewes, by diligently resorting to his lectures ; nor he a pretender to the study of divinity who did not transcribe his notes ; and, ever since, they have in many hundreds of copies passed from hand to hand." This testimony of a puritan, to a catholic churchman, is the more remarkable, since the custom of puritans was, and indeed is, to misrepresent and malign all who, living godly in this present world, keep aloof from their party.

The feelings with which Andrewes entered into holy orders may be seen from the following extract forming part of his sermon on "The Power of Absolution."

"The power of remitting sin is originally in God, and in God alone. And in Christ our Saviour, by means of the union of the Godhead and manhood into one person ; by virtue whereof 'the Son of man hath power to forgive sins upon earth.'

"This power being thus solely invested in God He might without wrong to any have retained and kept to

Himself, and without means of word or sacrament, and without ministers, either apostles or others, have exercised immediately by Himself from heaven.

“But we should then have said of the remission of sins, saith St Paul: ‘Who shall go up to heaven for it, and fetch it thence?’ For which cause, saith he, ‘the righteousness of faith speaketh thus, Say not so in thy heart. The word shall be near thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, and this is the word of faith which we preach.’

“Partly this, that there should be no such difficulty to shake our faith, as once to imagine to fetch Christ from heaven for the remission of our sins.

“Partly also, because Christ, to whom alone this commission was originally granted, having ordained Himself a body, would work by bodily things; and having taken the nature of man upon Him, would honour the nature He had so taken. For these causes, that which was His and His alone He vouchsafed to impart; and out of His commission to grant a commission, and thereby to associate them to Himself—it is His own word by the prophet—and to make them *συνεργούς*, that is, *co-operatores*, ‘workers together with Him,’ as the apostle speaketh, to the work of salvation both of themselves and of others.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Now if we ask to what men? the text is plain. They to whom Christ said this *Remiseritis*, were the apostles.

“In the apostles, that we may come nearer yet, we find three capacities, as we may term them: 1. as Christians in general; 2. as preachers, priests, or ministers, more special; 3. as those twelve persons, whom in strict propriety of speech we term the apostles.

“Some things that Christ spake to them, he spake to them as representing the whole company of Christians, as His *Vigilate*.

“Some things to them, not as Christians, but as preachers or priests; as His *Ite predicate Evangelium*, and



His *hoc facite*, which no man thinketh all Christians may do.

“And some things to themselves personally ; as that He had appointed them ‘witnesses’ of His miracles and resurrection, which cannot be applied but to them, and them in person. It remaineth we enquire, in which of these three capacities Christ imparteth to them this commission.

“Not as to apostles properly. That is, this was no personal privilege to be in them and to die with them, that they should only execute it for a time, and none ever after them. God forbid we should so think it. For this power being more than needful for the world, as in the beginning it was said, it was not to be either personal or for a time. Then those persons dying, and those times determining, they in the ages following, as we now in this, that should light into this prison or captivity of sin, how could they or we receive any benefit by it? Of nature it is said by the heathen philosopher, that it doth neither *abundare in superfluis*, nor *deficere in necessariis*. God forbid but we should ascribe as much to God at the least, that neither he would ordain a power superfluous or more than needed, or else it being needful would appropriate it unto one age, and leave all other destitute of it ; and not rather as all writers both new and old take it, continue it successively to the world’s end.

“And as not proper to the apostles’ persons, so neither common to all Christians in general, nor in the persons of all Christians conveyed to them. Which thing, the very circumstances of the text do evict. For He sent them first, and after inspired them ; and after both these, gave them this commission. Now all Christians are not so sent, nor are all Christians inspired with the grace or gift of the Spirit that they were here. Consequently, it was not intended to the whole society of Christians. Yea I add, that forasmuch as these two, both these two, must go before it, 1. *Missio*, and 2. *Inspiratio*, that though God inspire some laymen, if I may have leave so to term

them, with very special graces of knowledge to this end, yet inasmuch as they have not the former of sending, it agreeth not to them, neither may they exercise it until they be sent, that is, until they have their calling thereunto.

“ It being then neither personal nor peculiar to them as apostles, nor again common to all as Christians, it must needs be committed to them as ministers, priests, or preachers, and consequently to those that in that office and function do succeed them, to whom and by whom this commission is still continued. Neither are they that are ordained or instituted to that calling, ordained or instituted by any other words or verse than this. Yet not so that absolutely without them God cannot bestow it on whom or when Him pleaseth, or that He is bound to this means only, and cannot work without it. For, *Gratia Dei non alligatur mediis*, ‘the grace of God is not bound but free,’ and can work without means either of word or sacrament; and as without means, so without ministers, how and when to Him seemeth good. But speaking of that which is proper and ordinary in the course by Him established, this is an ecclesiastical act committed, as the residue of the ministry of reconciliation, to ecclesiastical persons. And if at any time He vouchsafe it by others that are not such, they be in that case *ministri necessitatis non officii*, in case of necessity ministers, but by office not so.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ The remission of sins, as it is from God only, so is it by the death and blood-shedding of Christ alone; but for the applying of this unto us, there are divers means established. There is *multiformis gratia*, saith St Peter, ‘variety of graces’ whereof we are made the ‘disposers.’ Now all and every of these means working to the remission of sins which is the first and greatest benefit our Saviour Christ hath obtained for us, it resteth that we

further enquire what that means is in particular which is here imparted.

“For sure it is, that besides this there are divers acts instituted by God and executed by us, which all tend to the remission of sins.

1. “In the institution of baptism there is a power to that end. ‘Be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins,’ saith St Peter to three thousand at once. ‘Arise and be baptized,’ saith Ananias to Paul, ‘and wash away thy sins.’ And to be short, I believe one baptism for the remission of sins, saith the Nicene Creed.

2. “Again there is also another power for the remission of sins, in the institution of the holy Eucharist. The words are exceeding plain: ‘This is my blood of the New Testament for the remission of sins.’

3. “Besides, in the word itself there is a like power ordained. ‘Now are you clean,’ saith Christ, no doubt from their sins, *propter sermonem hunc*. And the very name giveth as much, that is entitled, ‘The word of reconciliation.’

4. “Further, there is to the same effect a power in prayer, and that in the priest’s prayer. ‘Call for the priests,’ saith the apostle, ‘and let them pray for the sick person, and if he have committed sin it shall be forgiven him.’

“All and every of these are acts for the remission of sins; and in all and every of these is the person of the minister required, and they cannot be despatched without him.

“But the ceremonies and circumstances that here I find used, prevail with me to think that there is somewhat here imparted to them that was not before. For it carrieth no likelihood, that our Saviour bestowing on them nothing here but that which before they had, would use so much solemnity, so diverse and new circumstances, no new or diverse grace being here communicated.

1. “Now for baptism, it appeareth plainly that the



apostles baptized in a manner from the beginning, which I make no question they did not without a commission.

2. “And for the power of administering the holy Sacrament, it was granted expressly to them by *hoc facite* before His passion.

3. “The like may we say of the power of preaching, which was given them long before, even when He sent them, and commanded them to preach the kingdom of God, which was done before this power was promised which here is bestowed; as will evidently appear, the one being given, (Mat. x. 7,) the other after promised, (Mat. xvi. 19.)

4. “Neither can it be meant of prayer. There is no partition in prayer: ‘Prayers and supplications are to be made for all men.’ But here is a plain partition. There is a *quorum* whose sins are remitted, and another *quorum* whose sins are retained.

“Seeing then this new ceremony and solemn manner of proceeding in this are able to persuade any, it was some new power that here was conferred, and not those which before had been, (though there be that apply this, others to some one, and others to all of them,) I take it to be a power distinct from the former and, not to hold you long, to be the accomplishment of the promise made, of the power of ‘the keys,’ which here in this place and in these words is fulfilled, and have therein for me the joint consent of the fathers. Which being a different power in itself, is that which all call the act or benefit of absolution, in which, as in the rest, there is in the due time and place of it a use for the remission of sins. Whereunto our Saviour Christ, by his sending them, doth institute them and give them the key of authority; and by breathing on them and inspiring them doth enable them, and give them the key of knowledge to do it well; and having bestowed both these upon them as the stewards of his house, doth last of all deliver them their commission to do it, having so enabled them and authorized them as before. So much for the power.”

Such was the awful sense of responsibility with which Lancelot Andrewes entered into the sacred office of the ministry; thus clearly and learnedly has he stated the nature of absolution or the power of the keys. The whole sermon, from which the above extract has been made, is worthy of deep consideration

Having been invited by Henry earl of Huntingdon to visit him when he was president of the north, he employed himself during the visit in preaching, and he was also successful in converting many popish recusants. But he remained not long without a fixed post of duty, Sir Francis Walsingham obtaining for him the vicarage of St Giles, Cripplegate, in London, to which was added in 1589, a residentiary prebend in St Paul's church. These were not sinecure appointments; not only did he preach regularly at St Giles's, but he delivered divinity lectures at St Paul's three times a week, while through his assiduity in the discharge of his pastoral duties, added to his ascetic mode of life, his health was so impaired, that for a time his life was despaired of. He was appointed the successor of Dr Fulke in the mastership of Pembroke college, Cambridge, "a place of credit, but of little benefit, for he ever spent upon it more than he received by it." He found the college in debt, but he left, when he resigned the place, above eleven hundred pounds in the treasury, towards improving the college estates. On being appointed master of Pembroke he took his degree of doctor in divinity; and the thesis which he delivered on that occasion, in the public schools, was in defence of tithes; *decimæ non sunt abrogandæ*, (since published in his *Opuscula*, p. 140,) in opposition to the opinions which were then broaching to the contrary. His *Concio ad Clerum* was taken from Proverbs xx. 25, *Laqueus est homini devorare sacra*; printed also in his *Opuscula*, p. 1. In both of which he has firmly and temperately set before his hearers the enormity of that crime which was then too prevalent, and countenanced by the highest authorities of the realm. Some few years after this, he was appointed chaplain in

ordinary to queen Elizabeth, who was so much delighted with him as a preacher, that she conferred upon him, in 1601, the deanery of Westminster, on the death of Dr Goodman. He preached before her very frequently, in the years 1589, 1590, 1593, 1594, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, (upon the expedition of the earl of Essex,) and in 1602.

But notwithstanding his well known piety and learning, he was not advanced in this reign to the episcopate. It has often been the misfortune of the church of England, both before and since the reformation, that political reasons have been permitted to interfere with the advancement of her divines. It was so in the case of Lancelot Andrewes. He did not become a bishop in the reign of Elizabeth: he was offered more than one bishopric, but he consistently and piously rejected each offer, because there was attached to it a condition that he should alienate the revenues. The custom of selling, as it were, the bishoprics of the church, by offering them to those who were prepared to alienate the estates to those lay reformers who had not been rewarded for their exertions by the spoils of the monasteries, continued throughout the reign of Elizabeth: and we regret to state that, before her reign, some even of the clerical reformers, Cranmer for instance, (see his life,) had resorted to these sacrilegious means of enriching their families.

But though Andrewes was on this account neglected by Elizabeth and her counsellors, he was soon noticed by king James. That monarch stood in awe of him. His calm and steady piety, and his known asceticism, checked the frivolity of the king, who in his presence abridged himself of his wonted "liberty of speech." There is a story told of Andrewes, when he was bishop of Winchester, which is interesting as shewing the tact he had in declining to answer a useless question, and in administering a just rebuke: it is related in the life of Waller the poet. Waller, going to see the king at dinner, overheard a very extraordinary conversation between his majesty, the bishop of Winchester, and Dr Neale, bishop



of Durham. These two prelates standing behind the king's chair, his majesty asked them, "My lords, (said he) cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?" The bishop of Durham readily answered, "God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils." Whereupon the king turned, and said to the bishop of Winchester, "Well, my lord, what say you?" "Sir," replied the bishop, "I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases." The king answered, "No put-offs, my lord; answer me presently." "Then, sir," said Andrewes, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, for he offers it."

Andrewes was in this reign appointed as one of the commissioners on the part of the church, at the Hampton court conference, and he was also one of the forty-seven divines who were appointed to make the new translation of the Bible into English. He was one of ten who met at Westminster, to translate the Pentateuch, and the historical books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to the end of the second Book of Kings.

In the year 1605, he was consecrated to the see of Chichester, and was also appointed lord almoner. He accepted the high office with reluctance, and with a deep sense of the responsibility which he incurred. In the following year he was one of the prelates who preached at court, when a deputation of presbyterian ministers from Scotland were in waiting upon the king, and in his sermon he proved satisfactorily the right of kings to convene synods and councils; a subject which he discussed more fully in a Latin treatise, called "*Tortura Torti*," which he published three years after. This treatise was written in answer to one generally attributed to cardinal Bellarmine, though published under the name of his almoner, Matthew Tortus. King James, in his "*Defence of the right of kings*," had asserted the Anglican doctrine of the "authority of Christian princes over all causes and persons ecclesiastical as well as civil:" this provoked the reply of Tortus, or the cardinal, writing in the

name of Tortus, and James appointed Andrewes to defend him. In the "Tortura Torti" bishop Andrewes maintains that kings have power to call synods, and to confirm them, and to do all other things which the emperors before diligently performed, and which the bishops of those days willingly acknowledged to belong to kings." To the "Tortura Torti" Bellarmine replied, and bishop Andrewes published a rejoinder, in 1610. In the mean time he had, on the 22nd of September, 1609, been translated to the see of Ely, and was soon after made a privy councillor, first of England, and then of Scotland. As a privy councillor, he was careful not to interfere in civil affairs, but in all that related to ecclesiastical concerns he is said to have spoken boldly, and to the point.

The bishop's amanuensis and biographer, Isaacson, observes, that his "first and principal virtue was his singular zeal and piety, which showed itself, not only in his secret and private devotions between God and himself, in which they that were about him, well perceived that he daily spent many hours, yea, and the greatest part of his life, in holy prayers and abundant tears, the signs whereof they often discovered; but also in his exemplary public prayers with his family, in his chapel, wherein he behaved himself so humbly, devoutly, and reverently, that it could not but move others to follow his example. His chapel, in which he held monthly communions, was so decently and reverently adorned, and God served there with so holy and reverend a behaviour of himself and his family, by his pattern, that the souls of many who came there in time of divine service, were very much elevated, and themselves stirred up to the like reverend deportment; nay, some that had been there, were so taken with it, that they desired to end their days in the bishop of Ely's chapel." Of the arrangement of bishop Andrewes' chapel, an account has been preserved by the malice of his enemies. It is a description given by a puritan, but is interesting, as shewing how many of the ancient ceremonies of our church were retained before the rebel-

lion, which have been subsequently lost. Referring to a plan of the chapel, the writer of "Canterbury's Doom" exclaims, "Lo here in this piece and chapel you have first an altar, secondly, strange popish furniture on this altar; viz. two silver candlesticks with tapers in them. A basin for oblations. A silver and gilt canister for wafers. A chalice, with the picture of Christ engraven on it. An aire. A tricanale or pot with three pipes for the water of mixture, (that is, for water to mix with the wine, and for holy water). A credentia or side table. A basin and ewer (for the polluted priests and prelates to wash in before consecration), and a towel to wipe their unhallowed fingers. A censer, to burn incense in at the reading of the first lesson, as in the popish mass and churches. A little boat, out of which the frankincense is poured, &c. (which Dr Cosins had made use of in Peter-House, where he burned incense.) Furniture directly borrowed from the Roman ceremonial, missal, and pontifical, nowhere to be found but in popish chapels and churches. You may judge of this prelate's chapel and popish inclination, by this Romish furniture thereto belonging; and that mentioned in the next ensuing, being an inventory of his chapel furniture and plate, found with the former, attested by Master Prynne."

We have the means of ascertaining not only the style of bishop Andrewes' chapel, but also his mode of performing the most sacred service. In bishop Andrewes' notes, printed in Nicholls' commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, we have the following remarks from the pen of his lordship, in reference to the rubrics of the communion office:—

"The priest, after the collect, descends to the door of the septum, *makes a low adoration towards the altar*; then turns to the people, and standing in the door readeth the ten commandments (as from God), while they lie prostrate to the end, as to God speaking.....*Then shall follow the collect.*] *Bowing as before*, the minister goes up to the altar and kneels down. *Immediately after the collect, the*



*priest shall read the epistle.*] Here the other priest, or if there be none, he that executeth, descendeth to the door, *adoreth*, and then turning, readeth the epistle and gospel...

“*The epistle and gospel being ended, shall be said the creed.*] *Adorat*, ascendit, et legit symbolum Nicenum, populo adhuc stante.

“*After the creed.*] Lectâ confessione Nicenâ, *the priest adores*, then he removes the basin from the back of the altar to the fore part. The bishop ascends *with treble adoration*, and lastly kneels down at the altar. Into his hands the priest, from a by-standing table on the south side, reaches first the wafer-bread in a canister close covered and lined with linen. Secondly, the wine in a barrel on a cradle with four feet. These the bishop offers in the name of the whole congregation upon the altar. Then he offers into the basin for himself, and after him the whole congregation, and so betake themselves to their proper and convenient place of kneeling; bishops and priests only within the *septum*, deacons at the door, the laity without, the priest meanwhile reading the peculiar sentences for the offertory, *Solis ministerio sacro deditis ad altare ingredi et communicare licet*, Conc. Laod. Can. 19.

“*Then the priest standing up shall say the prayer of consecration.*]...Here the priest, *having made adoration*, poureth water upon the napkin ready for that purpose, and cleaneth his hands: mysticè respiciens illud psalmi, *Lavabo in innocentia manus meas, et sic introibo ad altare Dei*, &c..... Moraliter et decorè, uti cum magnatibus accubituri sumus. Postea panes è canistro in patinam ponit. Dein vinum è doliolo, adinstar sanguinis erumpentis in calicem haurit. Tum aquam è triconali scypho immiscet. Postremò omnibus ritè, et quam fieri potest decentissimè atque apertissimè compositis, stans pergit et peragit. In rariore solemnitate hîc pergit episcopus et consecrat.....

“*Then shall be said or sung*, Glory be to God on high.]... Here the congregation ariseth, and *having made their adoration*, they go towards their seats to a little private

devotion. In their way, at the foot of the choir, stands the *Cippus pauperum*, into which every man puts a small piece of silver; whilst the priest, standing still at the altar, readeth the exhortatory sentences for alms, *ut suprâ*. When all are composed in their seats he proceeds to the blessing." *Bp. Andrewes' Notes in Nicholls' Commentary*, pp. 38—52.

The teaching of bishop Andrewes, with reference to the eucharistic sacrifice, is strictly in accordance with the church of England, as may be seen from the following extract from his answer to cardinal Perron.

"*The Eucharist a sacrifice*.—1. The Eucharist ever was, and by us is considered, both as a sacrament and as a sacrifice. 2. A sacrifice is proper and applicable only to divine worship. 3. The sacrifice of Christ's death did succeed to the sacrifices of the Old Testament. 4. The sacrifice of Christ's death is available for present, absent, living, dead, (yea for them that are yet unborn). 5. When we say the dead, we mean it is available for the apostles, martyrs, and confessors, and all (because we are all members of one body): these no man will deny.

"In a word, we hold with St Augustine, in the very same chapter which the cardinal citeth, *Quod hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis, ante adventum Christi, per victimas similitudinum promittebatur; in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur; post adventum Christi, per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur*.

"*Altars*.—If we agree about the matter of sacrifice, there will be no difference about the altar. The holy Eucharist being considered as a sacrifice, (in the representation of the breaking the bread, and pouring forth the cup), the same is fitly called an altar; which again is as fitly called a table, the Eucharist being considered as a sacrament, which is nothing else but a distribution and an application of the sacrifice to the several receivers. The same St Augustine that, in the place alleged, doth term it an altar, saith in another place, *Christus quotidie pascit. Mensa ipsius est illa in medio constituta. Quid causa est, O audientes, ut mensam videatis, et ad epulas non accedatis?* The same

Nyssen, in the place cited, with one breath calleth it *θυσιαστήριον*, that is, an altar; and *ἱερὰ τραπέζα*, that is, the holy table.

“Which is agreeable also to the Scriptures. For the altar, in the Old Testament, is, by Malachi, called *Mensa Domini*. (Mal. i. 7.) And of the table in the New Testament, by the apostle it is said, *Habemus Altare*. (Heb. xiii.) Which of what matter it be, whether of stone, as Nyssen; or of wood, as Optatus, it skills not. So that the matter of altars makes no difference in the face of our church.—pp. 6, 7.”

On the death of archbishop Bancroft, the eyes of all true churchmen were fixed upon bishop Andrewes as his successor, and, says lord Clarendon, “if he (Bancroft) had been succeeded by bishop Andrewes, or any man who understood or loved the church, that infection would easily have been kept out which could not afterwards be expelled.” For the sins of the church of England, Abbot was appointed to the primacy; (see his life.) But bishop Andrewes was not forgotten by the king; he was translated to the see of Winchester, in 1618, and was made at the same time dean of the chapel royal. By king Charles the martyr, our holy bishop was revered, as he had been by his father; but in the second year of that king’s reign, 1626, he departed this life, at Winchester, on his birth-day, and in the seventy-first year of his age. He was buried in the upper aisle of the parish church of St Saviour’s, Southwark, in which parish Winchester house then stood.

Such was the character of this blessed saint, that his biographers appear to have exhausted the vocabulary for words to express his many virtues. Perhaps the following remarks from the pen of one who was himself also a saint in our church, Bishop Horne, will suffice for so brief a notice as this necessarily is.

“Bishop Andrewes was, without exeption, the first preacher of his time; and his discourses and lectures, though somewhat obsolete, from their antiquity, in style



and manner, are yet so excellent for the truth, learning, eloquence, and piety, found in them, that when we have laid down rules for a preacher, no character can be produced, in which they were better exemplified.

“His funeral sermon was preached by bishop Buckridge. It is there said, that they who spake truth of him could not but speak well of him; and if they spake falsely of him, his life and manners did confute them. As soon as he was put to school, he counted all the time lost that was not spent in studies. He sat late, and arose at four in the morning; not like moderns at seven or eight, with their heads and stomachs aching—*qui nondum hesternam edormiverunt crapulam*. He loved not the things of this world, though he had them as a steward. He sent alms under other men’s names; he stayed not till the poor sought him, but he first sought them.

“In most of his sermons he was so careful and exact, that there were few of them which were not thrice between the hammer and the anvil, before they were preached. He ever misliked often and loose preaching, without proper study of antiquity; and used to say, that if he preached twice on a Sunday, he prated once. He thought the word of God was never well enough handled, and the work of God never well enough done, till it received his utmost care and circumspection. When he could not preach, he went but little to court: that only is a priest’s business there. After he had an episcopal house, with a chapel, he kept monthly communions inviolably, though he received at court the same month. It was his custom to offer twice at the altar; and he gave his servants money that it might not be a burthen to them.

“He privately complained much of three sins; usury, from which he withdrew many: simony, and sacrilege; wherein the reformed were suffering correction and chastisement from God: and he wished some person would collect an account of the families so raised and ruined.

“His life was in a great measure a life of prayer; and his book of private devotions, composed in Greek and

Latin, for his own daily use, was, towards the conclusion of his life, scarcely ever out of his hands. In the time of his fever and last sickness, besides the prayers which were often read to him, in which he repeated the confession and other parts with an audible voice so long as his strength served ; he did, as was well observed by certain tokens in him, continually pray to himself, though he seemed otherwise to rest or slumber ; and when he could pray no longer with his voice, by lifting up his eyes and hands he prayed still ; and when they failed, he still prayed with his heart, till it pleased God to take his blessed soul to himself.

“ The puritans of his time called his doctrine atheistical, irrational, and worse than that of Arminius. He had foretold the destruction of the church of England by their means, in a sermon before the clergy in the year 1593 ; where, after an account of them and their preachings, he says,—*Nisi doctrinæ voci attendatis, idque maturè, BREVI nulla futura est omnino, cui (si maxime velitis), possitis attendere*—but that a Babel should be erected instead of Sion.

“ In the preface to an edition of his lectures, it is well observed of the eloquence of the pulpit, that the abuse of it is worse than that of the stage. For as *faith cometh by hearing*, so doth infidelity : and that by hearing the word of God ; by hearing it perverted ; not rightly opened, nor well applied. So Mr Herbert says, sermons are no indifferent things ; people are either the better or the worse for them. When any disturbance or sedition was meditated by the puritans, tickets were dispatched to the parsons, to preach and pray up the thing designed. King James the First, for twelve entire years together, during his residence in Scotland, (his reign we can hardly call it,) prayed to God upon his knees before every sermon he was to hear, that he might hear nothing from the preacher that might afterwards grieve him. But after his coming into England, he said his case was so much altered, that it was his prayer to edify by what he heard.

In his *Βασιλ. δωρον*, Lib. ii. p. 41, 42, he gives to his son Charles this character of the puritans:—‘Take heed of such puritans, very pests in the Church and in the commonwealth; whom no deserts can oblige, nor oaths or promises bind; breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imagination the square of their conscience.’

“Bishop Andrewes is reported to have been well learned in fifteen languages, ancient and modern; and to have been the greatest civilian, as well as the best preacher, of his time; and they who best knew how to praise him, said, his character never was exceeded in any of the three capacities in which he excelled; that is, as *doctor* Andrewes in the schools, *bishop* Andrewes in the pulpit, and *saint* Andrewes in the closet.”

There is an old edition of bishop Andrewes’ private devotions, published in 1692, with a curious frontispiece, representing the bishop at the bedside of a sick parishioner. The preface to “The Christian Reader” has this passage, from whence perhaps the above remark was copied. Speaking of his devotions, the writer says, “had you seen the original manuscript, happy in the glorious deformity thereof, being *slubber’d* with his pious hands, and water’d with his penitential tears, you would have been forced to confess, that book belonged to no other than pure and primitive devotion.”

His humility was as profound as his reputation was great, and his abilities pre-eminent. His usual confession of his own insufficiency was, that he was but *inutilis servus, atque inutile pondus*. When promoted to the see of Chester, he adopted for his motto the words of St Paul—*Et ad hæc quis idoneus?*

His bounty and liberality were almost unexampled, and being unmarried all his life, he was enabled to gratify his love of hospitality and doing good unto all men. What was once said of an orator, *nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*, may be applied to him with a little variation, *nihil tetigit*



*quod non locupletavit*; wherever he came and lived, all tasted of his bounty, and all were relieved by his goodness. As a parish priest, he distributed his alms regularly every Sunday. When in greater estate, his charities increased in proportion. His left hand knew not what his right hand distributed, for his alms were privately administered by his servants. In the last years of his life his private alms amounted to upwards of £1300. In his last will he left £4000 to purchase annuities for aged and decayed poor men. At St Giles's he sacrificed his own interests for the better maintenance of the place and repairing the house. Pembroke hall, which he received penniless, he left with ready money in its treasury, to the amount of a thousand pounds. When residentiary of St Paul's, he built the house in Creed-lane, belonging to the prebend, and annexed it to the church. He repaired the dean's lodgings in Westminster, the palace at Chichester, and the house in Aldingbourne. Upon Ely house in Holborn, Ely place at Downham, and Wisbech castle, he expended £2000; and the same sum also on Winchester house, Farnham, Waltham, and Wolesey.

But not satisfied with these expressions of a generous spirit, his bounty sought out other channels. He was the most liberal patron of all scholars, either of his own or other nations. He never left the university without leaving £100 or £50 to be distributed among the poorer scholars. Cassaubon, Cluverius, Vossius, Grotius, and Erpenius, were beholden to his generosity; and he offered the last of these scholars a liberal stipend out of his own purse to teach the oriental languages in England.

When dean of Westminster, he gave particular charge to the masters to use none but the most classical authors; frequently in his own person supplied the place of head schoolmaster and usher, for the space of a week together; giving no time for loitering from morning until night. And, still more to encourage the scholars, he caused their exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him, that he might examine their proficiency in style and composition. He

never walked to Chiswick for his recreation without being accompanied by some of them, and scarcely spent a week without sending two or three times for the upper scholars to his lodgings, and instructing them in the best rudiments of the Greek tongue, and the elements of the Hebrew grammar, and all this without the least severity or compulsion. "Alas," says Hacket, who had the happiness to be one of his early pupils, "Alas! this is but an ivy leaf crept into the laurel of his immortal garland. This is that Andrewes, the ointment of whose name is sweeter than all spices. (Cant. iv. 10.) This is that celebrated bishop of Winton, whose learning king James admired above all his chaplains; and that king being of most excellent parts himself, could the better discover what was eminent in another. Indeed, he was the most apostolical and primitive-like divine, in my opinion, that wore a rochet, in his age; of a most venerable gravity, and yet most sweet in all commerce; the most devout that ever I saw when he appeared before God; of such a growth in all kinds of learning, that very able clerks were of a low stature to him; *Colossus inter icunculas*, full of alms and charity, of which none knew but his Father in secret; a certain patron to scholars of fame and ability, and chiefly to those that never expected it. In the pulpit an Homer among preachers, and may fitly be set forth in Quintilian's judgment of Homer, 'Nonne humani ingenii modum excessit? Ut magni fit viri virtutes ejus non æmulatione quod fieri non potest sed intellectu sequi.' I am transported, even as in a rapture, to make this digression; for who could come near the shrine of such a saint, and not offer a few grains of glory upon it, or how durst I omit it? for he was the first that planted me in my tender studies, and watered them continually with his bounty." (Life of Williams, i. 45.)

Such of his writings as have not been mentioned before, are here subjoined:—1. His *Opuscula posthuma*, published in 1629, containing four Latin sermons, delivered at different times; a treatise on oaths, on usury, on tithes, three letters, in reply to three of Peter

du Moulins, on episcopacy—all in Latin ; a brief answer to the 18th chap. of the first book of card. Perron's Reply, and to the 20th chap. of the fifth book ; a speech delivered in the Star-chamber, against Traske ; a speech, in the same, concerning vows, in the countess of Shrewsbury's case. 2. *Tortura Torti sive ad Matthei Torti librum responsio, pro juramento fidelitatis.* Lond. 1609. Being an answer to card. Bellarmine's upon king James's book, concerning the oath of allegiance. 3. *Responsio ad apologiam card. Bellarmini quam nuper edidit contra præfationem monitoriam, &c.* Jacobi regis. 1610. These two, especially the latter, are justly esteemed the most learned of his works. 4. Ninety-six sermons, first published in 1628, by William Laud, then bishop of London, and John Buckeridge, bishop of Ely, at the king's command. "To them," say the learned editors, "he had been most kind, and in them he most excelled." And, as they further observe, "the Christian world hath not many such bodies of sermons." 5. Private devotions, &c. first published by Dr Duke, in 1648, and the author's original Greek and Latin at Oxford, in 1675. An accurate translation of this exquisite production has lately been published by the Rev. Peter Hall ; 1839. 6. *Institutiones piæ ; or Holy devotions ;* published originally under the name of H. I. (Henry Isaacson) in 1630, but generally ascribed, and not without reason, to bishop Andrewes. 7. Various letters in the *Epistolæ remonstrantium ;* and the letters of Cassaubon ; and a single letter respecting the works of Hooker.

In the year 1830 the approaches to the new London bridge on the Southwark side, requiring the removal of the little chapel which stood eastward of the Lady chapel, in the church of St Mary Overy, containing the monument and remains of bishop Andrewes, the workmen commenced their labour by taking down his monument, entombed in which they found the prelate's coffin, in an excellent state of preservation, it having been closely brick'd up in an arch. It is formed of lead, and bears the initials "L. A." on the lid ; attached to it is a



massy iron frame work, with large rings at the head and foot. It rested on a cross of brick work, the foot of the coffin on the upper part of the cross, which was placed eastward. The whole was carefully removed and re-erected in the Lady chapel, at the back of the altar screen.—Isaacson's *Life of Bishop Andrewes*. Buckeridge's *Funeral sermon*. Collier. Fuller. *Scholar armed*. Taylor's *Annals of St Mary Overy*.

ANGELIS, JEROME DE. This most distinguished and successful missionary and martyr was born in Sicily, in 1567, and at eighteen years of age entered the society of the jesuits. In 1596 he sailed for Japan from Lisbon, but was shipwrecked on the coast of Brazil, and returned to Portugal, where he was ordained priest, and did not finally reach Japan till the year 1602. He here learned the language, and made great progress in converting the natives, until the expulsion of the jesuits in 1614. After that event he threw off the clerical dress, and disguising himself as one of the natives, remained in the island of Nipon. Here he laboured for nine years in the Christian cause, and increased the number of Christians from 1000 to 11,000. At length the persecution was revived. De Angelis found that he exposed others to danger by concealing himself, he therefore resumed the clerical dress, and surrendered himself to the authorities. With forty-nine other Christians he received the crown of martyrdom on the 4th of December, 1623. *Biographie Universelle*.

ANGELUS, CHRISTOPHER, was a Greek native of Peloponnesus, which he was compelled to leave by the Turkish persecution of Christians, and came to England, where he was hospitably received by the bishop and clergy of Norwich; an orthodox and learned prelate at that time presiding over the diocese. He spent three years at Trinity college, Cambridge; and in 1610 removed to Baliol college, Oxford, where he taught the Greek language till his death, in 1638. He published an account of his

sufferings at Athens, on account of his religion, (Greek and English, 1619;) also an *Enchiridion de Institutis Græcorum*, (Greek and Latin, Camb. 1619;) an *Encomium* on Great Britain and her universities; and a treatise *De Apostasia Ecclesiæ et de Homine Peccati*, scil. Antichristo, Lond. 1624.—*Biographie Universelle*. Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*.

ANGILBERT, abbot of Centule, or St Riquier, in the 9th century. He was a pupil of Alcuin, and was brought up at the court of Charlemagne. He was married, most probably in private, to Bertha, the daughter of Charlemagne. The king, who kept his daughters with him, rather connived at the marriage than sanctioned it. This at least seems to the writer to be the probable case. Angilbert became a monk, in fulfilment of a vow made during a dangerous illness, and his wife at the same time took the veil. He was secretary to Charlemagne, (who used to call him Homer,) and thrice ambassador to Rome. Angilbert was also prime minister to Pepin, in his Italian kingdom, and died in 814. His account of his monastery is inserted in Mabillon, in his annals of the Benedictine order.—*Biog. Univer.*

ANNAT, FRANCOIS, was born in 1590, and became a member of the society of jesuits in 1607. For thirteen years he was professor of philosophy and theology at Toulouse; he became provincial of his order in France, and in 1654 he was appointed confessor to Louis XIV; which post he held till within a few months of his death in 1670. He is chiefly known in history as the determined opponent of the Jansenists. (See the life of Arnauld.)—*Bayle*.

ANSBERT, was born at Chaussy, and was bishop of Rouen during the latter part of the 7th century. At the court of Clotaire III. king of the Franks, he attracted the notice of Robert the chancellor, who offered him his daughter in marriage, an offer which Ansbert declined,

being desirous of dedicating his life to the service of God and His Church. He was raised to the office of chancellor under king Theodore III. uniting even in that high station, the mortification and recollection of a monk with the duties of a statesman. Quitting the court, he assumed the monastic habit at Fontinelle, of which monastery he became the abbot in 678. In the year 683 he was elected to the see of Rouen. By his care, good order, learning and piety flourished in his diocese; nevertheless, like almost every holy man, he was persecuted by the world, and Pepin, mayor of the palace, banished him upon a false accusation to the monastery of Aumont upon the Sambre in Hainault, where he died in the year 698. The church of Rome regards him as a saint, and celebrates his memory on the 9th of February. —*Mabillon. Alban Butler.*

ANSELM, was born in the year 1034, at Aosta, in Piedmont. Both his father, Gundulph, and his mother, Ermenberg, were of noble extraction, and he was the heir of a large fortune. His education devolved upon his mother, and the wisdom of her training may be gathered not only from his subsequent life, but particularly from the following anecdote, which shews how she had taught him to love his God, and to trust in His providence. In the stillness of sleep Anselm once dreamed of his God, and thought that HE was with him. The abode of the Almighty, this “inmate of a mountain dwelling,” imagined to be on the mountain tops. In his sleep Anselm ascended the Alps; it was the harvest time, and he thought he saw the reapers round the Lord. The youth imagined that his heavenly Father addressed him in sweet and gentle accents and asked his name. The young saint felt no hesitation in approaching the Almighty, and in his innocent simplicity narrated his whole life. Then, having received a piece of fine white bread, he departed. From this we perceive that Ermenberg had, in conformity with the sentiments of Christianity, represented the Almighty to



her son, as a tender father; and we may also conclude that in the training of her son she was mild and gentle, for had it been otherwise, his youthful imagination would have beheld the Lord stern and severe. The gentle training of a wise mother is generally perceptible throughout the life of a good man. and when Anselm himself became a teacher of youth, he pursued the gentle system of education, not renouncing the chastisement which was necessary, but using it very sparingly.

In his education of those who were confided to the cloister, his principle was, that they should be instructed with mildness and with love: that the affection of the instructor should surpass that of the scholar. But, as love is not strengthened by chastisement, it was his further desire that this should be resorted to as seldom as possible; a principle, the existence of which in those times will scarcely be thought possible. Eadmer has preserved a remarkable conversation of Anselm with the abbot of another monastery. They were discoursing upon the cloisteral education of youth. The abbot complained of the perversity and untractableness of those under his care. He ceased not, he said, from chastising them day or night, and still they did not improve. Anselm inquired, 'And when grown up, how are they?' 'Stupid,' replied the abbot, 'and like unto brutes.' 'A melancholy education that,' said Anselm, 'which transforms them from men into brutes.' 'But can this be our fault?' added the abbot, 'we use force to oblige them to advance in all good, and, despite us, they make no progress.' 'You force them?' asked Anselm. 'Tell me, I pray you, my lord abbot, should you place a plant in your garden, and so bind it in on all sides that its branches could not expand; and should you some years after remove the bands, tell me what kind of tree you would find?' 'Doubtless, an useless one, with its branches and boughs bent and entangled.' 'But the fault would lie with you, since you in an unnatural manner impeded its growth. Thus it is with your scholars: they are planted in the garden of the

Church, and are entrusted to you, that they may increase, and bring forth fruit to God ; but you have so bound them on all sides with fear, with threats, and with chastisement, that they enjoy no freedom. Thus oppressed, through want of foresight, evil thoughts, like thorns, entangled in each other, shoot up within them. These thoughts they foster and cherish, and always fixing themselves more firmly in the direction in which they have been bent, they become obstinate and incapable of any improvement : since from you they experience no love, no gentleness or mildness, they consider your conduct towards them as the effect of hatred and severity. It now lamentably appears that, with their age, their hatred and suspicions are increased, and that they are ripe for every vice : love having never been shewn them in their education, they now look upon other men with eyes of suspicion and distrust. But, in the name of God, why are you so inimical towards them ? Are they not men of the same nature as yourself ?' The abbot hereupon replied, that he had wished to bring up men capable of supporting great burthens. Anselm answered : ' The design is good ; but to new-born infants we give milk and not bread ; for bread, in itself nutritious, would to them prove destructive. Strong souls are patient in affliction ; when struck on one cheek they present the other ; they pray for their enemies, and love those that hate them. But he that is yet weak in the service of God requires the milk of mildness and kindness, of friendly exhortations and affectionate compassion. Let this be your conduct towards the strong and the weak, and, by the grace of God, you will, as much as lies in you, gain all to the Almighty.' The abbot was now convinced how pernicious his zeal had been, and deeply deplored his past unfruitful conduct.

Anselm, himself, bestowed the greatest attention upon children and youths. His conduct was founded on the following consideration. " Children and youths," he would say, " are like unto wax, which possesses such a mixture of hardness and softness as to receive the impression of the

seal, and to retain its form. If too hard, it receives no figure; but if too soft, it retains no distinct impression. Upon the proper quality of the wax depends the durability and distinctness of the figure of the seal. Thus it is with mankind. Should you converse on spiritual things, on exalted and divine subjects, to one who, from his childhood to his more advanced age, has been educated in vanity and earthly dispositions, should you disclose to him heavenly mysteries, you would find that he understood not what you said; and no wonder, the wax is too hard. Neither would the child comprehend you, were you to discourse to him on such subjects; the wax is too weak and too flexible—all impressions disappear. It is therefore that I watch with the greatest care over children and youths, seeking to destroy all the roots of vice, in order that, strengthened by the constant practice of holy virtue, they may stamp upon themselves the image of a spiritual man."

But we are anticipating the facts of his life. Although his disposition was naturally thoughtless, he was induced by his mother to study so deeply, as to distinguish himself in the public schools; and his heart was so fixed upon the things above, that he desired at fifteen to devote himself to the cloister. But he suffered a relapse. His saintly mother died. His profligate father disliked him. The youth seemed to be abandoned, and for a season he gave himself up to the pleasures of the world. In the words of Eadmer, when Ermenberg was dead, "the ship of his heart, having lost its sole anchor, drifted off almost entirely into the waves of the world." The harshness of his father increased, and the young man left his home and his native soil. He passed over Mount Cenis to Burgundy, and thence he entered France; at the end of three years coming to Avranches in Normandy, he visited the abbey of Bec, of which Lanfranc was the prior, and around whom a multitude of scholars from all quarters were gathered. The ardour for study revived in Anselm's breast; in the number of scholars of all ranks in society to



whom instruction was gratuitously given, Anselm was enrolled, and was soon himself appointed by Lanfranc to be an assistant teacher. In the mean time his father died : the world again held out to him its temptations ; he could not be unconscious of his superiority in genius and learning to most of those in his own station. Pride and vanity held him in suspense ; but the thoughts of his sainted mother, and the sensations of early piety came to his help. His heart was converted, and at twenty-seven years of age, in the year 1060, he became a monk at Bec ; of which monastery he was appointed prior when Lanfranc was advanced to the abbacy of St Etienne, in the city of Caen. The reputation of Anselm soon surpassed that of his master, Lanfranc, which a friend once observed to him, when Anselm modestly and beautifully replied, “ Many are the flowers which in colour resemble the rose, but which in their fragrance are greatly dissimilar.” To the labours of an instructor of others, he added those of a metaphysician and of a casuist. Such indeed was his skill as a casuist and spiritual adviser that persons came to him from a distance to “ open their grief” to him, and to state the doubts and difficulties of their conscience ; many more consulted him by letter, and he gave his advice to all. They who have had the direction of souls, are well aware of the very great care and thought which, in thus advising others, are necessary, and how much the difficulty is increased when the application is made not personally but by letter. Yet Anselm shrunk from none of these duties. Doubtless it was these duties which suggested to him some of those meditations and prayers which have been translated into modern languages ; in which he rises to the most exalted extacies, and is enraptured with the praises of the Almighty ; in which is expressed the most heartfelt melancholy, the deepest sense of his sinfulness, and of his own incapacity to please God in the least particular ; in which Christ is presented to the soul as its all in all. But not only was he thus successful as an instructor, casuist, spiritual adviser, and moralist ; he would devote his

nights to the correction of manuscripts, which by the carelessness of copyists, were continually liable to be vitiated. The letters, too, which he had to write to high and low, now to a monarch on his throne, and now to some poor sorrower, and the zeal with which he defended the cause of the poor and oppressed, must all have occupied him in a manner scarcely conceivable, and only possible to those who have learned to turn each quarter of an hour to account, and waste not even a minute of time. But we have not done yet: this reference to the full employment of Anselm has been made, that we may remark on the fact, that he was still more diligent in the business—most important to his own soul,—prayer, public prayer, private prayer, the devotions of the closet, and the devotions of the Church: prayer was no impediment in his case to the performance of the other duties! it would seem to be profaneness even to suppose it. But in these days it becomes important to notice the fact: for the writer of this article knows two instances in which two dignitaries of the church of England, men of respectability, have committed the sin of dissuading some of their clergy from having daily service in their churches, because it is a waste of time! That this advice is given through ignorance of the nature of prayer only renders it the more grievous; but grievous as the fact is, it is necessary to notice it, in the hope that the sin may be reprobated, and that when men are magnifying trifles into offences, real offences may not be overlooked.

In 1078 Anselm was unanimously elected the successor of Herluin, the abbot of Bec, of which monastery he had been the founder; he hesitated at first about accepting the office, and when he did accept it, he resigned the administration of the temporalities to such of the brethren as he thought proper to select for the purpose, and confined himself to the spiritual direction of the abbey. At the same time he did not neglect the duties of hospitality, which in those times formed part of the claims upon an abbot.

As abbot of Bec, it became necessary for him to visit England, where the monastery had some possessions ; and we may suppose that Anselm was not unwilling to discharge this duty, as it would afford an opportunity of seeing once more his venerated master, Lanfranc, now archbishop of Canterbury. In England he was received as a saint. With firmness of principle he united, in a singular degree, a courtesy of manner, which enabled him to accommodate himself to the feelings and conversation of all classes. "There was no earl or countess, or great person who did not think they missed a favour in the sight of God, if they had not an opportunity of rendering some service to Anselm, abbot of Bec."

Thirteen years elapsed before Anselm visited England again ; and at that time our beloved Church was in a lamentable condition. William Rufus had succeeded his father upon the throne, and for five years had kept the archbishopric of Canterbury vacant, that he might appropriate the revenues to his own use ; when the affairs of his monastery seemed to require the presence of Anselm in England, and many of the nobility whose consciences he had, ever since his former visit directed by letter, urged him to visit them. Count Hugo of Chester was on a sick bed, and especially required that consolation which can only be afforded by a spiritual adviser to whom the secrets of the heart have been made known. Anselm obeyed the call of duty in 1092 : he visited the sick count, consoled him in his sickness, and was preparing, after staying in England for five months, to return to Normandy, when the king forbad his departure. Anselm had visited the king on his first arrival, had met with an unusually gracious reception, and had fearlessly, though probably with that good taste for which he was distinguished, rebuked him for his ecclesiastical administration. It is probable that William had at that time some little remains of conscientious feeling, and that he was half inclined to offer the archbishopric to Anselm, though prevented by his avarice. The clergy had asked his permission not long



before to offer up prayers for a happy election to the see of Canterbury; a fact which shews, on the one hand, the authority which the sovereign at that period possessed in spiritual affairs, and, on the other, the greater reliance then placed by holy men on the special providence of God than what now exists. In our own time we hear of petitions to parliament against the tyrannical suppression of the Welsh bishoprics, but it has not as yet entered into the hearts of our clergy to request the queen to allow petitions to be offered to the throne of grace that her advisers may be directed from above, in the course to be pursued. It is clear that when the subject was mentioned to Rufus it was discussed in his presence; and those about him, knowing the respect he entertained for Anselm, alone among the ecclesiastics of the age, mentioned the abbot's name, speaking of him as of one who loved God only, and desired nothing earthly: "No," replied the king with a sneer, "not even the archbishopric of Canterbury." Nevertheless the king most probably intended to make Anselm archbishop, and only wished to delay the appointment as long as possible, when he was suddenly seized with an alarming illness: he then listened to the advice of his nobles, sent for the abbot of Bec, humbly confessed his sins to him, and promised an amendment of life; and finally he entreated him to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury.

In the manner in which Anselm refused, and at length consented to accept the sacred office, as related by the ancient historians, there was probably a little straining for effect; but it is easy to understand why a retired scholar, whose personal influence was perhaps greater than that of any living man, should decline an office, unless actually forced upon him, which would involve him in duties and responsibilities to which he had been unaccustomed, and bring him into collision with the powers of the world. There is no situation preferable to that of a man who, in an inferior station, is permitted to assist his superiors by his advice, without incurring their responsibilities; and happy are they in high station, who can thus rely on the honest

advice of an inferior, who can often see the right path more clearly, as being exempt from the temptations and self-deceptions to which the person called upon to act, is exposed. Wise bishops have always had spiritual advisers, from an inferior order in the ministry, and Anselm, as we have before remarked, was the spiritual adviser of persons in all classes of society ; prince and prelate, penitent and pauper, all sought his advice, his sympathy, and his prayers, if they could devise any excuse for approaching him ; and no one can advise others in things pertaining to heaven, without gaining wisdom for his own soul. This happy, and, in a spiritual point of view, more exalted position, Anselm was called upon to forego, in order to accept an archbishopric under a tyrant, and in a disunited country. He foresaw the difficulty, and said to his friends, “ you are yoking to the same plough an unmanageable steer with an aged and powerless sheep. The wild nature of the king will oppress me ; you will see the church laid waste during the shepherd’s life ;” but he was at length persuaded, and was consecrated by Thomas, archbishop of York, on the 4th of December, 1093.

There was at this time a pope and an anti-pope, Urban and Guibert, and the church of England had not declared for either of the two who disputed the papal throne ; but Anselm, as abbot of Bec, had sworn allegiance to Urban, and before he accepted the archbishopric, he stipulated with the king that he might consider Urban as the real pope.

Of the excellence of Anselm’s personal character enough has been said, and it is impossible to speak of it too high ; nevertheless as archbishop of Canterbury he seriously injured the church of England. His views of the papal authority were so high and exaggerated, as to render it impossible for him to maintain his position as an independent archbishop ; and consequently he contributed much to bring our beloved church under the dominion of the see of Rome, and he endeavoured to carry out to the full extent the system of Gregory VII ; so that in his

archiepiscopate, and through his means, celibacy of the clergy became the law of our church, and so remained until the reign of Henry VIII. But in saying this we only intend to say that Anselm adopted the best means he possessed, as he thought, to maintain the liberty of the Church, and to preserve it from lay aggression; and it is, as Mr Churton, in his history of the early English church, observes, only right to make a strong distinction between Anselm and those less praiseworthy prelates who were led by worse motives to exalt the powers of the popes. Anselm desired only the Church's liberty; he had been born in a country where every one gave the bishop of Rome primacy and honour, and he thought the same was his due in England. But he did not mean to grant him more than this; and at the same time we must remember that William Rufus not only asserted his right to be over all causes and persons ecclesiastical as well as civil supreme, as his ancestors had ever done, but he sought to make the Church the mere creature of the state. "The Church," said Anselm, to Rufus, "is yours to defend and guard it as a patron, not to invade its rights and to lay it waste." Anselm's appeal to Rome, which we are about to mention, was the appeal of the weak to the strong for protection against tyranny. It was not till the time of William of Corbeil that the pope obtained *jurisdiction* in our Church. Anselm had acknowledged him as the head bishop of the Christian church, and in virtue of this eminence wished him to have the investiture of the archbishops, but not to interfere and give laws to the church of England. Our church was under a head of its own, governed by the king in temporal matters, and by the archbishop of Canterbury in spiritual. William of Corbeil at a subsequent period made the primacy of England consist in acting as the pope's deputy.

The troubles of archbishop Anselm soon commenced. William was restored to health, and with returning health his promises were all forgotten; the prisoners were not released, the abbacies were not filled, the spoils of the



church were not restored. In 1094 the king prepared for an expedition to wrest the dukedom of Normandy from his brother Robert, and the archbishop was advised by his friends to make a present to the king: offered him five hundred pounds of silver. It was as much as he could conveniently raise from his tenants, robbed as they had been by the royal exactions during the vacancy of the see; the king declared that he ought to receive one, if not two thousand pounds, and in indignation refused to accept the gift. Anselm immediately distributed the money among the poor; and the king refused his consent when Anselm asked for it, the next year, to have a national synod held in his kingdom, to remedy the disorders of the church; the kings of England having then the right which they still possess, of granting or prohibiting their license to the primate to hold convocations of the clergy, although regular convocations were not established till a later period. The hostility of the king so disheartened Anselm that he thought of resigning his bishopric, but was dissuaded from the step by his friend the archbishop of Lyons. He waited, therefore, the return of the king from Normandy, and then intimated his desire of going to Rome to receive the pall or pallium, from Urban II., and to consult with the pope on the state of the church of England. To this Rufus had a twofold objection, as interfering in two ways with the independence of the church of England, and with the royal prerogative; both as regarded the recognition of the bishop of Rome; and as regarded the freedom of the clergy and laity of England from the tyranny of a foreign see. We have said that there was then a rival pope, and neither Rufus nor the church of England had, as yet, acknowledged the right of Urban to the papacy: nor could the private opinion of an archbishop of Canterbury be binding upon the church. In Anselm's case, however, this was no valid objection, for he had acknowledged Urban to be pope, when he was abbot of Bec, and bargained with the king, before he accepted the archbishopric, that he might retain

his allegiance to that prelate. Anselm's visit to Rome might, in the opinion of the king, have a still worse influence. The abbots were generally devoted to the see of Rome: they disliked the jurisdiction of the bishops over their monasteries, and being in wealth and power, very frequently rivals to the bishops; they were accustomed to obtain an exemption from the episcopal jurisdiction, and to have themselves placed under the immediate superintendence of the pope, to whom the bishops were compelled to submit. Anselm thus acquired, not only as an Italian, but as a monk and an abbot, an extreme veneration for the Roman see, and the feelings of the abbot attended him when placed on the episcopal throne of Canterbury. As an abbot he had always contended for the subservience of the episcopate to the see of Rome, and when archbishop he prided himself in still carrying out his principle, and in shewing extreme deference to the pope. It was this feeling which made him anxious to consult the pope on the misfortunes in which our church was at that time involved. On the other hand, king, lords, and prelates, were all desirous of maintaining the independence of the church of England, and they could not but see what the consequence would be of these constant references to the bishop of Rome. The interference of the pope with our church has always been regarded with distrust by both the clergy and laity of the realm; and the enforcement of the rule of celibacy by Gregory VII. had rendered the married clergy of the church of England very anxious to avoid, as much as possible, all intercourse with Rome. Although the right to bestow the pall or pallium upon archbishops and metropolitans, was now assumed by the pope, it was originally conferred by the emperors, and Rufus was desirous of exercising this right, requiring Anselm to receive the pall from him. The religious feeling of the age however, tended to submission to the see of Rome; the most eminent and pious men considered it as a religious duty; the more

politic perceived the advantage of having an appeal to a distant and impartial authority from tyranny at home. Among the common people too there was certainly a strong popish feeling, caused perhaps by the fact that the bishops being appointed by government, were, for the most part men of the world, regarding rather their temporalities than the welfare of the people and the promotion of true religion; so that the romanizing party in our church was at this time decidedly the popular party. Under these circumstances, the king having informed Anselm that he considered fidelity to the pope to be irreconcilable with fidelity to the king; the archbishop, in an assembly of the lords and prelates of the kingdom, sought their advice whether they considered their allegiance to the crown as incompatible with submission to Rome. Popular feeling and the spirit of the age would give an answer in the negative, but the precedents of the church of England and sound policy dictated the assertion, that while respect was due to the see of Rome, that see could not claim submission, in any sense, from the independent church of England. But Anselm taking his ground on a misinterpretation of our Saviour's address to St Peter, which the other bishops had not courage to explain in that sense in which it was generally understood by the fathers, contended strongly on the papal side. The bishops were so strongly against him, that they were even willing, with one exception, to renounce their allegiance to him: but the unpopularity of the bishops, mere creatures of the government, and the popularity of Anselm, together with his conscientious firmness, and the power of his eloquence,—these things induced the lay lords to remain neuter, and at the same time to signify their determination not to permit any violence to be exercised towards the archbishop. When the king declared that he withdrew his protection from Anselm, and called upon the nobles to renounce their allegiance to the primate, they replied, "we owe him no fealty; as we have not sworn



any, so we cannot renounce it; but we acknowledge him as our primate, for that he hath not proved himself unworthy of that high dignity." After such a manifestation of feeling against himself, the king was obliged to adjourn the council. The character of Anselm was sure to conciliate the feelings both of the nobility and of the people of that age: courage was the virtue in highest esteem, and in the midst of threatenings and insults the courage of Anselm never forsook him. On two occasions the lords left him to report progress to the king, and on their return they found the venerable primate in his place, asleep; so calm, so confident did he remain amidst these storms. Remarking this, one of the peers observed: "I know not what to think of our plans against the primate; we spare no labour to bring something of consistency against him, in the mean time, he sleeps: and yet when we return, he crosses with one word all our projects." On one occasion, when the assembly was dismissed, a soldier addressed Anselm in these words: "Thy children entreat thee with earnestness, that thy heart be not troubled by the words thou hast heard; be mindful that holy Job upon a dung-hill subdued the devil, and thus avenged Adam, who had been conquered in paradise." Anselm knew that the soldier only expressed the sentiments of the populace, and with some impropriety replied, "*Vox populi vox Dei.*" The people indeed reviled the anti-roman bishops as fit followers of the traitor Judas, the undiscerning Pilate, and the cruel Herod.

The council was to meet again at Whitsuntide; but before this, the differences between Rufus and Urban had been apparently settled, and Walter, bishop of Alba, the pope's legate, had arrived from Rome with the pall. To save appearances, the king made a shew of reconciliation with the archbishop, and the question with respect to the pall was settled thus: the legate was to carry it to Canterbury, and lay it upon the altar, and the archbishop was to take it thence; a ceremony which was performed with great solemnity on the 10th of June, 1095.

But although, by the policy of the legate, peace seemed to be established between the king and the archbishop, there were new subjects of controversy continually rising between them, as was not unlikely to be the case, while the king in the one extreme, exaggerated the royal authority, which he had inherited, over all causes and persons ecclesiastical and civil, and Anselm in the other extreme, sought to increase the influence of the pope over our church, and to force upon it those alterations in discipline, and innovations in practice, which had been introduced by Gregory VII. At length, in 1097, Anselm again asked permission to go to Rome to consult the pope. The king was indignant at the application, and Anselm waited until the council met in October, when he once more renewed his request, and besought the bishops to support his petition, which they refused to do. The primate was now entirely deserted; many of the lay lords and bishops were sent to him by the king, and addressed him in these words:—"You have been a constant uneasiness to our sovereign; and the more you obtain, the more you desire. You have violated the oath which you took to the crown. It is unheard of, that a noble, much less a primate, should leave the kingdom without the king's consent. You should pledge yourself by oath under no future circumstances to appeal to the pope, and then visit the court to beg pardon for your manifold offences:" thereupon they departed. The primate would not consent to lie under the imputation of having violated his oath; he therefore returned to the assembly, and thus addressed the king:—"I have certainly promised to observe and defend the customs of the realm; but only in as far as they are consistent with the law of God and with justice." The king and the lords replied, that in the oath there was no mention of God or of justice. To which Anselm thus answered:—"if in the oath there be no mention of God and of justice, of what then can it make mention? No Christian can bind himself to customs which are opposed to the divine law. It is, you say, contrary to custom that, for the salvation of

my soul and the administration of the church, I should visit St Peter in his successor. Such customs are against God, and worthy of condemnation. God's command is superior to any other, and all fidelity promised by man to man rests on fidelity to God; and he who is faithless to God, cannot be faithful to man." Hereupon the king, with some of his lords, interrupted him, exclaiming—"Oh, oh! this is a sermon—a sermon!" Anselm continued:—, "The oath which you require of me, never more to appeal to the pope, is equivalent to denying Christ, who has built his church on Peter.—They then said, "That he might go to St Peter and the pope, but that they would not abide by the determination." Upon this, Anselm returned to his dwelling, prepared the requisites for his journey, took his staff from the altar, and departed from Canterbury; his little property having previously been conveyed to Dover. The king, thinking that the primate was rich, prepared to seize upon his treasures, but his expectations were deceived. He now once more held the church of Canterbury in his possession.

Before he left England Anselm gave proof both of his charity and of his sense of official authority: he went to the king with "a cheerful and pleasant countenance," and offered him his benediction. "I know not when I shall see you again," he said "and if you refuse it not, I would fain give you my blessing—the blessing of a father to his son, of the archbishop of Canterbury to the king of England." The proud king was touched by this solemn way of closing their personal intercourse. He bowed his head. The archbishop made over him the sign of the cross. They parted. They met no more. May the archbishops of Canterbury always be as ready to bless their sovereigns, and may our sovereigns ever learn to value the sacerdotal benediction as they ought to do.

On landing upon the continent Anselm found himself considered as a confessor; the popular feeling was so decidedly in favour of those who sought to elevate the power of the popes above that of the national bishops and



the civil authorities, that his journey to Bec and thence to Lyons was one continued triumph; and so great was the enthusiasm in his favour, that miracles were expected from him.

Anselm arrived in Rome soon after Easter, 1098, accompanied only by Eadmer, the historian of his life, and the monk Baldwin. The praise with which he was there received by Urban, and the kindness he experienced, could not reconcile our pious and ascetic primate to the confusion, the plots, the intrigues, the splendour of the papal court; and he soon retired to a monastery near Telesina, in Campania, where he applied his energies to his doctrinal writings, and completed his treatise "*Cur Deus Homo*." His cause was feebly supported by the pope, the effect, it is supposed, of gold from England; insomuch that Anselm had, at one time, serious thoughts of resigning his post. Meantime Urban shewed him every mark of personal affection and respect, and at the council of Bari, assembled on the 1st of October, 1098, as a mark of honour Anselm was seated next to the pope, who called him "the pope of the other world." Well would it have been for Christendom if these words had been uttered in reality, and not as a mere compliment. The council of Bari was held to oppose an error of the Greek church, which does not hold that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son. On the second day Anselm spoke and refuted the Greeks out of scripture; not out of the fathers, for the Greeks would not allow the authority of the Latin fathers, and if the Greek fathers were quoted against them, they used to object to the authority of the copy. In this council, the Italian bishops, sympathizing with the archbishop of Canterbury, whose uncomplaining cheerfulness had won their esteem, shewed such indignation at the indecision and lukewarmness of the papal court, that Urban promised to adopt a different course. This feeling in Anselm's favour evinced itself yet more strongly at the Lateran council, 1099, but no steps being taken for the restoration of Anselm, he left Italy in despair, if not in disgust, and took refuge with

the archbishop of Lyons. Here he heard of the death of Urban, which occurred in October, 1099: and in the following August he received the account of the accident which occasioned the death of William Rufus, a tyrant universally detested, who lived unhonoured and died unwept.

Anselm now prepared to return to his church, and received a letter on his road from Henry I. expressing his earnest desire to see the archbishop in England, and to receive his advice. Anselm reached Dover on the 23rd of September, 1100, and was enthusiastically received by the people, and by Henry with the kindness of a friend. He had long been the spiritual adviser of the new queen, who was affectionately attached to him.

After his return, Anselm was of considerable assistance to the king; and when Robert, duke of Normandy, invaded England, it is scarcely too much to say that Henry owed the preservation of his throne to the archbishop. But Henry was not willing to recede from the rights of his predecessors on the English throne, of being over all causes and persons, ecclesiastical and civil, within his dominions, supreme; and a dispute soon arose between him and the archbishop, on the subject of investitures. Anselm was required to take an oath of allegiance to the new sovereign, and to receive investiture at his hands; this he refused to do, alleging certain canons which had been passed at the late council at Rome, which excommunicated the laymen who should give, and the clergy who should receive, such investiture. This led to lengthened negotiations at Rome, in which at first Paschal II. seemed more eager to secure the payment of the Peterpence, which could only be levied with the king's consent, than to settle the dispute; so that at length it was agreed that Anselm himself should go with the king's ambassadors to Rome. He commenced this journey on the 27th of April, 1103, and as the pope refused to concede the right of investiture to the king, Anselm returned once more to his old quarters at Lyons, where he remained sixteen months, Henry refusing to retire from

what he considered to be his right, and Anselm not choosing to return to England until the king yielded. There was no personal ill-will between Anselm and Henry, and in July 1105 they had an interview in Normandy, but could not settle the dispute. At last the pope gave an answer which satisfied the king: he did not yield the point of investiture, but he permitted bishops and abbots to do homage for their temporalities, a practice which has existed in our church from that time to the present day. Henry was contented thus to be the feudal lord of his spiritual peers; and the pope sacrificed no principle which the church had adopted. The question relating to investitures will so frequently occur in this work, that we shall here extract the very sensible remarks of Rapin upon this subject.

“ I begin (says our author) with laying it down as a fact, which appears to me incontestible, that from the reign of Charlemagne, sovereign princes took upon them to give the investiture of the greater benefices by the ring and pastoral staff. Gregory VII was the first who endeavoured to take from them this right, towards the end of the 11th century. The popes, his successors, continued the prosecution of this design with the same zeal. It must be allowed, that princes themselves gave but too frequent occasion to the popes to cry out against the abuses of this prerogative. Under pretence that the bishops and abbots could not take possession of their benefices before they had received the investiture of them, they publicly sold the bishoprics and abbeys to the highest bidder. I say, they sold them: for, though the elections might seem to be agreeable to the canons, the sovereigns nevertheless were masters of them, since they had it in their power to refuse investiture to those who were not agreeable to them. By this means they were sufficiently enabled to procure the election of those whom they recommended, there being no ecclesiastic who desired to be a bishop or an abbot, without enjoying the temporalities annexed to the benefice. In order therefore to be chosen, it was necessary to



have the consent of the prince ; after which the bishop or abbot, even before consecration, received the investiture in the manner already mentioned. Besides that simony had too often a place in elections made after this manner, there was another reason which seemed to justify the popes in their endeavours to abolish the investitures. This was, that princes, by investing ecclesiastics in a manner different from that which was practised with respect to the laity, and even before their consecration, seemed to assume the privilege of conferring on them the spiritual character. This the popes called a manifest usurpation upon the rights of the church. Indeed one cannot but discover something like it in this practice, on account of the two characters which were confounded in the bishop elect, namely that of a minister of the Church, and that of a temporal lord of lands annexed to the benefice. If the popes and the princes had acted fairly, they would carefully have distinguished these two characters : on the contrary, they found their respective advantages in confounding them. Hence princes got the elections into their power, and hence also the popes took occasion to dispute with sovereigns the right they were in possession of. And therefore all the contests between princes and the popes upon this subject arose, properly speaking, from this confusion. The former said, they could not suffer any person to possess lands dependent on their crown, without having received the investiture thereof from their hands. The popes on their side maintained, that it was not reasonable that princes should interpose in elections, or confer a character, which it belonged to the church alone to give. Both parties were equally distant from the true state of the question. It was very possible for a man to be a bishop or an abbot, without holding lands of the crown ; in which case princes could pretend to nothing. On the other side, princes could receive no prejudice by the spiritual characters being conferred without their consent, since they had it in their power to take their own precautions, before they put the prelates in possession of the

temporalities. But it was impossible to reduce them to this point, in the disposition they were in of making no concessions on either side. Thus it plainly appears, that the temperament, which Paschal II and Henry I followed, was a very reasonable one, and no ways prejudicial to the rights of the Church or the king."

Anselm now returned to England, and passed the rest of his days in peace, writing some of those works which have come down to us, holding councils to remedy abuses, and seeking diligently to promote holiness in the English church. He was not however exempt from controversy, and maintained his authority as primate of all England against Thomas archbishop of York, who was ambitious of making the see of York independent of that of Canterbury. In the midst of their dispute, the venerable Anselm died, in his seventy-sixth year. His death occurred on the 1st of April, 1109.

Matilda, the consort of Henry, was devoted to Anselm, who was her spiritual adviser, and to whom she expressed her affection in letters which are still preserved. Even during the banishment of the primate, her correspondence with her director was carried on without interruption.

"Of the private life of Anselm," says Dr Möhler, "as archbishop, we have not many records. He was but little attentive to economy; and his pious simplicity inducing him to believe all men to be like to himself, he was frequently imposed upon. As he willingly parted with whatever he possessed, his wealth was but small. During his banishment, he lived at the cost of those with whom he dwelt; and at other times, he was supported by the bounty of the countess of Blois, and of Matilda, spouse of the king. He ate so sparingly, that it was a subject of surprise how he lived; and during his meals he was wont to lead the conversation to some heavenly subject. In the presence of strangers, who were his frequent guests, he was generally less abstemious; and when lost in conversation, those who sat near him would frequently place something additional upon his plate, if emptied of that little which it

had already received, in order that in his forgetfulness he might eat some little more. Should he perceive that any at his table were restrained through his presence from taking a sufficiency, it occasioned him great uneasiness; whilst, on the other hand, the sight of those who appeared to be without restraint gave him much pleasure, and he would say to such, ‘You are welcome.’

Matilda was apprehensive lest Anselm by too great abstemiousness might shorten his life, and under this apprehension she wrote to him the following letter, an honorable testimony to the education and religion of the times: “It is by no one doubted, nor is it unknown to me, that daily fasting has become your nature. I have also been informed by many holy men, that after a fast long continued, you take no meal, although nature requires it, and urges you thereto, and you are made mindful of the same by all around you. I know also that you then take so little nourishment, that you rather do violence to nature, over whom you exercise a power, than obey her laws. Hence many, and I above all, have become apprehensive, lest so great a father, to whose beneficence I am so deeply indebted, so magnanimous a combatant for God, the conquerer of human nature, through whose inexhaustible power the peace of the kingdom and the dignity of the priesthood (*pax regni sacerdotiique dignitas*) have been confirmed and protected, through whose blessing my marriage has been canonically consecrated, through whose anointing I possess the dignity of earthly sovereignty, through whose prayers I trust by the grace of God to be adorned with a celestial crown—we fear lest the body of so great a man be made faint, lest your mind lose its vigour, lest your voice, which raises up around you a spiritual building, become weak, and audible to those only who stand near, so that the rest will be robbed of the spiritual fruits. Deprive not yourself, therefore, O good father, of your corporeal strength, lest you cease to be a preacher. For, as Tully, in his treatise on Old Age, has said, ‘The good orator requires not only mental capacity, but also a



firm breast and strength of body' (*oratoris munus non ingenii est solum, sed laterum etiam et virium.*') How soon are we to be deprived of the high nobility of your soul, of your great knowledge of past events and foresight into the future, of your great science and information, of your numerous researches, of your knowledge of men and wisdom in divine things, together with your so great simplicity? Leave none of the talents entrusted to you from the riches of your Lord unhusbanded, for they will be all required from you. As spiritual drink and spiritual nourishment is necessary to the soul, so is corporeal to the body. You must, therefore, eat and drink, since, if such be the will of God, 'You have a long way to go;' you have yet to sow a rich crop, to purify it from weeds, to gather it in and store it in the granary of the Lord, wherein no thief can enter. You behold the scarcity of the reapers of so rich a harvest. You are laden with the care of many, in order that you may obtain the salvation of many. Be mindful that it is with you as with John the Apostle and Evangelist, who was so beloved by his master. The Lord himself desired that he should survive Him, to take upon Himself the care of His mother, the Blessed Virgin. You are entrusted with the care of our mother, the Church; how many brothers and sisters in Christ, whom the Lord has purchased with His Own Blood and entrusted to you, will run into danger, unless with loving solicitude you hasten to their assistance! Feed His flock, O shepherd of so great a Lord, lest without nourishment it sink on the road. Let St Martin be your pattern, that great man, who, when the joys of heaven were now prepared, did not cast aside solicitude for the necessities of his people. I know well that, by the example of many, and by the testimony of the holy Scriptures, you are invited to and confirmed in fasting. An intimate acquaintance with the holy writings has informed you, how, after fasting, food was brought by the raven to Elias, by the widow to Eliseus, and by an angel, through Habakkuk, to Daniel; and how Moses, after his fast, was rendered worthy to receive the

tables of the law, rewritten by the finger of God after they had been dashed in pieces. You are also encouraged in this exercise by many examples of the heathens. You have seen the abstinence of Pythagoras, of Socrates, of Antisthenes, and of other philosophers, whose names I need not here enumerate. It is true that, in the new covenant, Christ Himself has consecrated fasting; but He has also consecrated feasting, both by His last supper and by His conversion of water into wine: He sat at the table of Simon, where He expelled the seven demons from Mary, and first fed men with spiritual food; He disdained not to eat with Zaccheus, whom He freed from the service of this earth, and invited to a heavenly warfare. Harken, my father, to St Paul exhorting Timothy to drink wine for the weakness of his stomach. Imitate St Gregory, who relieved the debility of the stomach by the strength of food and of drink, and thus was enabled to preach the gospel with strength and perseverance; act as he acted, that you may attain to that to which he has attained, to Jesus Christ, the fountain of life. Farewell in the Lord, and succour by your prayers your faithful handmaid, who loves you with her whole heart; read also and follow my advice which I have written, not with feigned, but with true and constant love."

"The view of this letter," says Dr Möhler, "fills me with unspeakable joy. A time in which the Church gave an education capable of producing such expressions, even from a woman, must needs have stood in the midst of the gospel. What intimacy with the holy Scriptures! What acquaintance with the duties of ecclesiastics! What importance attached to the office of a preacher! Anselm, in his reply, expresses his wish that he possessed that wisdom and mental power, which would enable him to labour for others as much as his bodily strength would yet permit. He also remarks, that his meals were amply adequate to his necessities.

We may perceive from the letter of Matilda, that Anselm was assiduous in preaching, and this is confirmed

by the numerous homilies on the holy Scriptures which have been ascribed to him. In these, however, I can nowhere discover the genius and the characteristics of the primate; they are void of that conciseness and energy which distinguish his words and writings, and quotations from Scripture, contrary to his practice, are frequently introduced. His instructions are indeed replete with the spirit of the holy Scriptures, entire passages from which he frequently introduces; but this, however, is done in a manner which in these works is wholly unobservable. In his meditations, Anselm has rejected all allegories and mystic interpretations, which in these homilies are constantly employed. It was indeed but little conformable to his wisdom in education, to address the common people in allegorical language, which in general is understood and followed up with considerable difficulty. These writings may, I think, be classed among the many others which, without reason, are ascribed to his hand.

“Anselm continued his theological researches even to the day of his death. This day came upon him when he had just completed his treatise ‘*De concordia præscientiæ et prædestinationis et gratiæ Dei cum libero arbitrio*,’ wherein he investigates how the foreknowledge and predestination as well as the grace of God can be reconciled with free will. Perceiving his end to draw near, he gave his blessing to the king, to the queen, and the people, and particularly to his children, the monks of Canterbury. He then desired the account of the last supper and of the passion of our Redeemer to be read. When the words, ‘Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table’ (Luke, xxii. 28, 30), had been pronounced, he closed his mortal eyes to this mortal world, and began to behold what no mortal eye can see. He gave up his soul into the hands of Him who has said, ‘In the world ye shall have tribulations; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the



world.' His death occurred in 1109, the third year after his return from his second exile."

The works of Anselm have been frequently printed collectively. His most important writings are those already mentioned; the printed editions contain many smaller tracts, and among the rest his homilies and meditations, some hymns, and between four and five hundred letters. The meditations have separately passed through innumerable editions. His letters are valuable, but much less interesting than might be expected. Several books have been inserted among the works of Anselm which do not belong to him, particularly a poem *de Contemptu Mundi*, which was written by Roger de Caen, monk of Bec; the *Elucidarium* (an abridgment of theology;) and the popular tract on cosmography, entitled *Imago Mundi*. The latter is only found in the older editions. The first edition of the works of Anselm was printed in folio at Nuremberg, 1491, and reprinted at the same place in 1494. Many editions in the same form appeared in Germany and France during the 16th century. In the following century, the editions became more complete; that of Cologne, folio, 1612, first contained the poem *de Contemptu Mundi* and the *Elucidarium*; a much better edition was edited by a jesuit named Theophilus Raynaud, folio, Lyons, 1630; and another, more complete, edited by Gerberon, was printed at Paris, 1675, folio. The best editions are that in 1 vol folio, Paris, 1721, (containing the works of his disciple Eadmer,) and that printed at Venice, in 1744, 2 vols. folio.—Möhler's *Life of Anselm*. *Eadmer*. *Biog. Brit.* *Rapin*. *Collier*. *Baronius*.

ANTHONY, SAINT. There is some difficulty in giving an account of this holy enthusiast, since the life of him written by the great Athanasius, has come down to us interpolated, and it is impossible to distinguish what is genuine in that work from what is inserted. But we possess the outline, although we may not be willing to receive entirely the details by which it is filled up. That Anthony was exposed

to more than ordinary internal temptations from Satan is certain; and it is also certain that, like Martin Luther, he imagined that the great enemy attacked him visibly, and assailed his body as well as his mind, a fact which was, implicitly believed by his contemporaries. It was not probable that they should doubt the fact, for we know from Scripture that the bodies of men had been very frequently possessed by the devil; and we know also from ecclesiastical history that this continued for some time to be the case; persons possessed forming a distinct order in the Church, and a form of exorcism on that account being adopted as one of the church services. Religious persons will regard the fact that the devil has now lost this power, as a proof that the kingdom of Christ has prevailed; and looking to history they will expect to find, that it was gradually established, and the evil one was not driven from it at once. In nations not yet converted, the devil is still said to exercise visibly more power than he does among those who "profess and call themselves Christians." Perhaps one of the reasons why the Church is permitted to embrace so many who are only nominally Christians will hereafter be found to be connected with this fact. As to the fact itself, whether either Martin Luther, in modern times, or St Anthony in the primitive ages, did really and personally encounter the great enemy, this must depend upon the evidence of history, and the degree of credit we attach to the individuals. What has been said, is merely urged to shew why the fact, as it related to St Anthony, was readily believed by the early Christians. Their faith in miracles had not been shaken and shocked by those legendary absurdities, which in after years rendered men sceptical with respect to every marvel recorded in history, unless written by the pen of inspiration; and as they were certain that miracles had been performed, not many years before them, by apostles and apostolical men, they did not minutely investigate the fact when, in their own time, the performance of a miracle was asserted. We have been rendered so sceptical by the legends of the middle ages,

that we should require an overwhelming weight of evidence ere a miracle would be believed by us : it may be doubted whether many of those who now profess and call themselves Christians, would, if they had lived in the apostolical age, have been persuaded by the miracles described in the New Testament. The pharisees, always attributing wrong motives to every party except their own, with malignant hearts, asserted of our Lord's miracles, that they were wrought by the power of Satan,—a modern pharisee, if unwilling to be persuaded against his religious prejudices and interests, would have warned his followers that they resulted from unknown properties of nature. But the early Christians had no difficulty of this sort : their temptation was to be too easy of belief ; to *expect* miracles, and therefore to be prepared to be persuaded, when any one affirmed that a miracle was wrought. Their credulity led them to overstate the fact ; and like all overstatements, they have produced a reaction in the opposite direction. But the miracles attributed to Anthony are very different in their character from those of which we read in the legends of the middle ages. Indeed we may reduce them to this fact, that being a very holy man, his prayers were often asked by sufferers, and that his prayers were granted. That answers to prayer supernaturally occur at the present time, when prayer is offered even by ordinary men, no one who has been accustomed to pray diligently, and to watch special providences, will for a moment doubt. The writer of this article has known several instances in which some beloved person in a family has been declared by the physician to be in a hopeless condition, to be dying, to be in a state in which recovery was impossible. Most earnest unintermitting prayer for the recovery of the patient has, in spite of the physician's assurances that hope was gone, been offered, and to the astonishment of all, the patient has survived, and been restored to health. It is presumed that many of those who have been engaged diligently in pastoral duty can recollect similar cases. To doubt the fact would be to deny the efficacy of prayer. In ordinary



natural circumstances we have recourse to the powers of nature, not without prayer, and consult those who, like the physician, have studied the subject; but even when all natural remedies seem to fail, we continue to pray for supernatural interposition, and it would be mockery so to pray if we did not expect the supernatural interposition sometimes to occur. But, we repeat, no one who is constant in prayer, and who is accustomed to watch special providences, can doubt the fact, that supernatural interposition in behalf of himself, and of other objects of his prayer, does take place, and that too very frequently. And thus it was with St Anthony; persons came to him, he prayed with them, and they, being more vigorous in their faith, than we are, looked for an answer to his prayers, which very frequently occurred; but he himself admits, according to the statement of St Athanasius, that very frequently he prayed in vain. The account is very interesting:—"He united in sympathy and prayer with those who were suffering; and *often*, and in *many* cases, the Lord heard him. When heard, he did not boast; *when unsuccessful*, he did not murmur; but, under all circumstances, he gave thanks himself to the Lord, and exhorted the sufferers to be patient, and be assured that their cure was out of the power of himself, and, indeed, of any man, and lay with God only, *who wrought when He would, and towards whom He chose*. The patients in consequence accepted *even the words* of the old man as a medicine, learning themselves not to despise the means, but rather to be patient, while those who were healed were instructed not to give thanks to Anthony, but to God only."

With these preliminary observations we proceed to state that Anthony, Antony, or Antonius, was born in the year 251, in the neighbourhood of Heracleopolis, on the west bank of the Nile. His parents were noble and opulent, and, being Christians, educated Anthony in the Christian faith. They were both of them Egyptians. His education was private, he avoided the society of other boys, and from that circumstance, as well as from his own disposi-

tion, he did not receive instruction in the fashionable literature of the day, although St Athanasius states that he gave his attention to reading. With the Greek language it appears that he never became acquainted. The distinguishing point in Anthony's character was, the earnestness and sincerity of his religion. Of this he gave early proof; he was only eighteen or twenty years of age when his parents died, leaving him in possession of the large family property, and guardian of an only sister, then a little girl. The young man, about six months after the death of his parents, as he was going, according to his custom, to church, found his mind directed to meditation upon the sacrifices made by the apostles and their immediate converts to the cause of Christ; as he entered the sacred place, the words which first met his ears, being part of the gospel of the day, were those of our Lord to the young ruler of the Jews, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me." Anthony regarded the words as addressed to him: he felt that, as a young man free from incumbrances, he had no call to the duties of a secular life; there was something within him which urged him to aspire to a life of holiness and devotion to God; the inward call and the outward call seemed to correspond: he therefore gave up his paternal estate, sold all he possessed and gave it to the poor, reserving only such a portion as was necessary for a provision for his sister—a provision which justice required him to make. Finding afterwards that he could provide for his sister by placing her under the care of some trustworthy female acquaintance, and being struck by hearing at church the text, "Take no thought for the morrow," he parted even with that which he had at first reserved.

He did not immediately retire into the wilderness, but commenced his ascetic life in the neighbourhood of his native village. Of his mode of life St Athanasius gives the following very interesting account, which shews that if

Anthony was impelled by his enthusiasm to an eccentric course, his enthusiasm was nevertheless under the direction of reason, and his desire after holiness, sincere :— “ There was, in the next village, an aged man who had lived a solitary life from his youth. Anthony, seeing him, ‘ was zealously affected in a good matter,’ and first of all adopted a similar retirement in the neighbourhood of the village ; and did he hear of any zealous man anywhere, he used to go and seek him out, like a wise man ; not returning home till he had seen him, and gained from him some stock, as it were, for his journey towards holiness. He laboured with his hands, according to the words—‘ If any one is without work, let him not eat ;’ laying out part of his produce in bread, part on the poor. He prayed continually, having learned that it is a duty to pray in private without ceasing. So attentive, indeed, was he to sacred reading, that he let no part of the Scripture fall from him to the ground, but retained all, memory serving in place of book. In this way he gained the affections of all ; he, in turn, subjecting himself sincerely to the zealous men whom he visited, and marking down, in his own thoughts, the special attainment of each in zeal and ascetic life—the refined manners of one, another’s continuance in prayer, the meekness of a third, the kindness of a fourth, the long vigils of a fifth, the studiousness of a sixth ; this, had a marvellous gift of endurance, that, of fasting and sleeping on the ground ; this, was gentle, that, long-suffering ; and in one and all he noted the adoration of Christ, and love one towards another. Thus furnished, he returned to his own ascetic retreat, henceforth combining in himself their separate exercises, and zealously minded to exemplify them all. This, indeed, was his only point of emulation with those of his own age, that he might not come off second to them in good things ; and this he so pursued as to annoy no one, but rather to make all take delight in him. Accordingly, all the villagers of the place, and religious persons who were acquainted with



him, seeing him such, called him God's beloved, and cherished him as a son or as a brother."

Anthony soon found that retirement from the world was not sufficient in itself to rescue a man from the temptations of the enemy. He remembered his past comforts, and the wealth he had given up, together with the delights of social intercourse with his sister and his friends. He suffered from the temptations of the world and the flesh: and he met the trials by increased austerities. After recounting his first great victory over the temptations of Satan, Athanasius remarks, "not that Anthony imagining the devil was subdued, was neglectful afterwards and secure; knowing from the Scriptures that there are many devices of the enemy, he was persevering in his ascetic life. He was the more earnest in keeping under his body, and bringing it into subjection, lest, triumphing in some things, yet in others he might be brought low. His vigils were often through the whole night. He ate but once in the day, after sunset; sometimes after two days, often after four: his food was bread and salt,—his drink, water only. He never had more than a mat to sleep on, but generally lay down on the ground. He put aside oil for anointing, saying that the youthful ought to be forward in their asceticism, and, instead of seeking what might relax the body, to accustom it to hardships, remembering the apostle's words—'When I am weak, then am I strong.' He thought it unsuitable to measure either holy living or retirement for the sake of it, by length of time; but by the earnest desire and deliberate resolve of being holy. Accordingly he never himself used to take any account of the time gone by; but, day by day, as if ever fresh beginning his exercise, he made still greater efforts to advance, repeating to himself continually the saying of the Apostle, 'forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forward to those which are before.'"

Such was his life for about fifteen years, and before quitting this course of life, he retired to some distance from his native village, and sought a more lonely asylum among the dead in a burial ground: having arranged with a friend

to supply him at long intervals with food, he made his abode in one of the sepulchres. Here it was that he imagined himself assaulted by demons and beaten almost to death ; horrid forms of lions, bears, wolves, bulls and serpents threatening to assail him. We have not the means of investigating these facts, though considering the highly imaginative and enthusiastic nature of the man, and the place to which he had repaired, they can easily be accounted for ; we only know that his faith was such that amidst these tremendous trials he remained unterrified, defying the power of the devil, until he imagined the roof of the sepulchre to open and a ray of light to descend, as it were from heaven to visit him : the demons who assailed him then vanished, and a heavenly voice cheered him with the assurance of support. The termination of this trial, as stated by St Anthony has, in sublimity at least, the advantage over the story told by the celebrated reformer, Martin Luther, of what occurred in his conflict with the visible power of darkness.

He was about thirty-five years old when this occurrence took place, and he now betook himself to the desert, and abode in a deserted fort filled with reptiles. He blocked up the entrance and laid in bread for six months, as, according to St Athanasius, "the Thebans were wont to do, after keeping their bread for a whole year ;" he had a well of water indoors ; and he neither went abroad himself nor would see those who came to him. He evidently considered the reptiles by which he was annoyed as demons in disguise, and his combat with them was often heard from without. This deserted fort was probably in the desert on the western or Lybian side of the Nile, at no very great distance from his native Heracleopolis.

At the end of twenty years, about 306, when he was fifty-five years old, the eagerness of his friends, who broke down the doors of his retreat, compelled him to come forth. The account of the transaction shall be given in the words of Athanasius :

"He had now spent nearly twenty years exercising him-

self thus by himself, neither going abroad nor being seen for any time by any one. But at this date, many longing to copy his ascetic life, and acquaintances coming and forcibly breaking down and driving in the door, Anthony came forth as from some shrine, fully perfected in its mysteries. and instinct with God. This was his first appearance outside the inclosure, and those who had come to see him were struck with surprise at the little change his person had undergone, having neither a full habit, as being without exercise, nor the shrivelled character which betokens fasts and conflicts with the evil ones. He was the same as they had known him before his retreat. His mind also was serene, neither narrowed by sadness nor relaxed by indulgence, neither over-merry nor melancholy. He shewed no confusion at the sight of the multitude, no elation at their respectful greetings. The Lord gave him grace in speech, so that he comforted many who were in sorrow, and reconciled those who were at variance, adding in every case, that they ought to set nothing of this world before love towards Christ. And while he conversed with the people, and exhorted them to remember the bliss to come, and God's loving kindness to us men in not sparing his own Son, but giving him up for us all, he persuaded many to choose the monastic life. And from that time monasteries have been raised among the mountains, and the desert is made a city by monks leaving their all and enrolling themselves in the heavenly citizenship."

One day, going forth, when all the monks were collected about him and begged him to discourse to them, he spoke as follows, in the Egyptian language:—

"Holy Scripture is sufficient for teaching, yet it is good to exhort one another in the faith, and refresh one another with our discourses. You then, as children, bring hither to your father whatever you have learned; and I in turn, as being your elder, will now impart to you what I know and what I have experienced. Let this pre-eminently be the common purpose of every one of you, not to give in when once you have begun, not to faint in your toil, not



to say, 'We have been long enough at these exercises.' Rather as though, day after day, we were beginning for the first time, let our zeal grow stronger; for even the whole of human life is very short compared with eternity, or rather nothing. And every thing in this world has its price, and you get an equivalent; yet the promise of everlasting life is bought at a trifling purchase. 'The days of our life are threescore years and ten,' as Scripture says, 'and, if men be so strong, fourscore,' yet did we persist in our exercises for the whole fourscore, or for a hundred, this would not be the measure of our reign in glory. Instead of a hundred years, we shall reign for ages upon ages; not upon this poor earth on which is our struggle, but our promised inheritance is in heaven. We lose a corruptible body to receive it back incorruptible.

"Wherefore, my children, let us not weary, nor think we have been a long while toiling, or that we are doing any great thing; for our present sufferings are not to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed towards us. Let us not look at the world, or reckon we have made great sacrifices, for even the whole earth is but a small spot compared to the expanse of heaven. Though we had possessed it all, and had given it up all, it is nothing to the kingdom of heaven. It is no more than a man's making little of one copper coin in order to gain a hundred gold ones; thus he who is lord of the whole earth, and bids it farewell, does but give up little and gains a hundred fold. But if the whole earth be so little, what is it to leave a few acres, or a house, or a store of gold? Surely we should not boast or be dejected upon such a sacrifice. If we do not let them go for virtue's sake, on death, at length we shall leave them, and often to whom we would not, as says the preacher. What gain is it to acquire what we cannot carry away with us? Far different are prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude, understanding, charity, love of the poor, faith towards Christ, gentleness, hospitality; obtain we these, and we shall find them there before us,

making ready a dwelling for us in the country of the meek."

"Let us, then, apply ourselves to our religious exercise, and not be downcast. We have the Lord to work with us, as it is written. It is well to study the apostle's saying, 'I die daily.' We shall not sin if we so live as to be dying daily; that is, if we rise as though we should not last till evening, and go to rest as though we should not rise; life being of an uncertain nature, doled out by Providence from day to day. Thus we shall be ever militant and looking forward for the day of judgment; and this more urgent fear and peril of torment will ever rid pleasure of its sweetness, and restore the wavering soul.

"Therefore, having now set out upon the path of virtue, let us the rather reach forward to what is before. Be not alarmed when you hear speak of virtue, nor regard the name as strangers to it; for it is not far from us, it is not external to us; the work is in us, and the thing is easy, if we have but the will. Greeks travel beyond sea to learn letters,—we need not travel for the kingdom of heaven, or cross the sea for virtue. Christ anticipates us, 'The kingdom of heaven (He says) is within you;' virtue needs but the will.

"We have able and subtle enemies, the evil spirits; with these we must wrestle, as the apostle says. There is need of much prayer and self-discipline to gain, through the Holy Spirit, the gift of discerning of spirits, to detect their nature, viz., which of them are the less abandoned, which the more, what is the aim of each, what each affects, and how each is overthrown and ejected. When the Lord came on earth the enemy fell, and his power waxed weak; therefore, as being a tyrant, though powerless, he keeps not quiet even in his fall, but threatens, for he can do no more. Let each of you consider this, and he may scorn the evil spirits. Behold, we are here met together and speak against them, and they know that as we make progress they will grow feebler. Had they then leave, they would suffer none of us Christians to live; had they power,

they would not come on with a noise, or put forth phantoms, or change their shapes to further their plans ; one of them would be enough, did he come, to do what he could and wished to do. Such as have power do not make a display in order to kill another, nor alarm by noises, but use their power to effect at once what they wish. But evil spirits, since they can do nothing, are but actors in a play, changing their appearance, and frightening children by their tumult and their make-belief ; whereas the true angel of the Lord sent by Him against the Assyrians, needed not tumult, appearances, noise, or clatter ; yet, in that quiet exercise of his power, he slew at once a hundred fourscore and five thousand. But the devils have not power even over the swine ; much less over man made in God's image."

In the persecution under Maximin, about the year 310, some of the solitaries were led from the desert to Alexandria for martyrdom, and Anthony accompanied them ; he attended them at the judgment seat, encouraged them under their sufferings, and undeterred by the threatenings of the magistrate, followed them to the place of execution. His enthusiasm was such, that St Athanasius remarks, " he was like a man in grief because he did not attain martyrdom ;" the same father observes, that he was preserved to be " an instructor to many, in that ascetic life, which *he himself had learned from Scripture.*" He was indeed devoted to the study of Scripture only, and he adhered steadfastly and consistently to its injunctions, not permitting it to be explained away by human systems and traditions. The Bible was his only book.

Returning to the wilderness, he left his former abode, which had become populous, to seek solitude ; and advancing still further into the desert, he settled at the foot of a lofty mountain, where was a spring of clear cold water, and where he cultivated a small spot of ground near his habitation, in which he raised a sufficient supply of food for himself and for those who still, even in this remote place, resorted to him. After remaining for a time



in this retreat, he was prevailed upon to visit his former friends at Faoum, where he rejoiced to find his sister grown old in her virginity, and at the head of a sisterhood of virgins. He was also persuaded by Athanasius and the Egyptian bishops, in 355, to repair to Alexandria and to preach against the Arian heresy. His enthusiasm and asceticism were in accordance with the spirit of the age, and the people of Alexandria flocked in crowds to hear and see the holy man who acted on the principles which they all recognized as true. But it is not probable that he would have visited Alexandria had not the Arians endeavoured to gain credit for their cause, by insinuating that he was inclined to their heresy. He nobly vindicated his orthodoxy, and declared his belief that Arianism was the forerunner of antichrist. The effect he produced was wonderful. Even heathens flocked to hear him. "Certainly," says St Athanasius, "as many became Christians in those days, as one may commonly see converted in a year."

By Constantine and his sons, Constans and Constantius, Anthony was addressed as a father. When they sought to enter into correspondence with him, he at first declined, as being unable to answer their royal epistles, or adopt the courtly style. He only yielded at the entreaty of his friends, who represented the emperor and his sons as Christians, and, in consequence, entitled to his Christian regard. Alas! how few among us, princes, peers, or prelates, in these days, would thus seek as a favour the correspondence of such a man as Anthony. They would be rather apt to treat him as a lunatic for having renounced the good things of this life, or would do all they could to compel him to quit their communion, and unite himself to heretics and schismatics. The contemporary princes could admire a virtue, though they had it not themselves; and prelates defended the Christian liberty of a man who had a right to follow Christ in his poverty, although they did not, in all instances, feel that they had the same call as he had to such extreme asceticism. Nor did Anthony fail to avail himself of the

influence which he possessed with royalty. When, through the intolerant manœuvres of the Arian or low church party, the great Athanasius was driven into banishment, St Anthony addressed the emperor in his behalf, and received a courteous reply. His mind was saddened in his later years by the prevalence of the Arian opinions and the probable triumph of the low party in the Church. In his last address to the brethren before his death, he warned them : “ Keep yourselves pure from the Arians and Meletians, holding safe the tradition of the fathers, and above all, that pious faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, which ye have learned from the Scriptures, and have often been reminded of by me.”

The account of his last moments shall be given in the words of St Athanasius ; and the reader will not fail to observe that it contains a protest against superstitions respecting relics. The brethren of Faoum urging him to remain with them, “ and there finish his course, he would not hear of it, as for other reasons, which were evident, even though he did not mention them, so especially because of the custom of the Egyptians in respect to the dead. For the bodies of good men, especially of the holy martyrs, they use to enfold in linen cloths ; and, instead of burying, to place them upon biers, and keep them within their houses, thinking thus to honour the departed. Anthony had applied even to bishops on this subject, begging them to admonish their people ; and had urged it upon laymen, and rebuked women, saying, that the practice was consistent neither with received rule, nor at all with religion. ‘ The bodies of patriarchs and prophets are preserved to this day in sepulchres ; and the Lord’s body itself was laid in a tomb, and a stone at the entrance kept it hidden till He rose the third day.’ By such arguments he showed the irregularity of not burying the dead, however holy ; ‘ for what can be more precious or holier than the Lord’s body ? ’ And he persuaded many to bury for the future, with thanksgiving to the Lord, for such good instruction.

“Anthony, then, being aware of this, and fearing lest the same should be done to his own body, bidding farewell to the monks in the outer mountain, made hastily for the inner mountain, where he commonly dwelt, and, after a few months, fell ill. Then calling to him two who had lived with him, as ascetics, for fifteen years past, and ministered to him on account of his age, he said to them, ‘I, as it is written, go the way of my fathers; for I perceive I am called by the Lord. You, then, be sober, and forfeit not the reward of your long asceticism; but, as those who have made a beginning, be diligent to hold fast your earnestness. Ye know the assaults of the evil spirits, how fierce they are, yet how powerless. Fear them not; rather breathe the spirit of Christ, and believe in Him always. Live as if dying daily; take heed to yourselves, and remember the admonitions you have heard from me. Have no fellowship with the schismatics, nor at all with the heretical Arians. Be diligent rather to join yourselves, first of all, to the Lord, next, to the saints, that after death they may receive you as friends and intimates into the eternal habitations. Such be your thoughts, such your spirit; and, if you have any care for me, remember me as a father. Do not let them carry my body into Egypt, lest they store it in their houses. One of my reasons for coming to this mountain was to hinder this. You know I have ever reproved those who have done this, and charged them to cease from the custom. Bury, then, my body in the earth, in obedience to my word, so that no one may know the place, except yourselves. In the resurrection of the dead it will be restored to me incorruptible by the Saviour. Distribute my garments as follows;—Let Athanasius, the bishop, have the one sheep-skin and the garment I sleep on, which he gave me new, and which has grown old with me. Let Serapion, the bishop, have the other sheep-skin. As to the hair-shirt, keep it for yourselves. And now, my children, farewell, Anthony is going, and is no longer with you.’

“After these words, they kissed him. Then he stretched



himself out, and seemed to see friends come to him, and to be very joyful at the sight, (to judge from the cheerfulness of his countenance as he lay;) and so he breathed his last, and was gathered to his fathers. His attendants, as he had bidden them, wrapped his body up, and buried it; and no one knows yet, where it lies, except these two. As to the two friends who were bequeathed a sheep-skin a-piece of the blessed Anthony, and his tattered garment, each of them preserves it as a great possession. For when he looks at it, he thinks he sees Anthony; and when he puts it on, he is, as it were, carrying about him his instructions with joy,"

This extract is the more remarkable since it serves to shew how, by the expression of a natural feeling, a superstitious regard for relics grew up in the Church. Nothing was more natural than for those who possessed what had really belonged to the great and good to regard their possession with affection; but by degrees those who did not possess real relics, were too ready to be deceived when persons were found dishonest enough to supply them with others, of which the history was more than doubtful.

The death of St Anthony occurred on the 17th of Jan. 356, when he was a hundred and four years old. St Athanasius describes the effect produced by St Anthony in Egypt: there is something of the unconscious exaggeration of enthusiastic friendship—the friendship of a son and pupil in the description—but the description itself is beautiful.

“ Among the mountains there were monasteries, as if tabernacles filled with divine choirs, singing, studying, fasting, praying, exulting in the hope of things to come, and working for almsdeeds, having love and harmony one towards another. And truly it was given one there to see a peculiar country of piety and righteousness. Neither injurer nor injured was there, nor chiding of the tax-collector; but a multitude of ascetics, whose one feeling was towards holiness. So that a stranger, seeing the

monasteries and their order, would be led to cry out, 'How beauteous are thy homes, O Jacob; and thy tabernacles, O Israel; as shady groves, as a garden on a river, as tents which the Lord has pitched, and as cedars by the waters.'"—§ 44.

Many of St Anthony's letters, addressed to the different monasteries of the Thebaid, and written in Coptic, are preserved. Some were translated into Greek and Latin, and a few have been printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Seven only of those printed by Abraham Echellensis in 1641, are said to be genuine. Two of the originals, in the language of the Thebaid, were inserted by Mingarelli in his *Ægyptiorum Codicum Reliquiæ*, in 1785.

The chief authority for this article is the life of St Anthony, written by St Athanasius, and translated into Latin by Evagrius. Both the original and translation are given in the Benedictine edition of Athanasius: the passages quoted above are translated by Mr Newman, in his "Church of the Fathers."—*Dupin. Cave.*

APEL, JOHN, was born at Nuremberg in 1486, and in 1524 was appointed professor of law and rector of the university of Wittenberg. He was a zealous protestant, and a personal friend of Luther. Previously to the appointment before mentioned, he was a canon of Wurzburg. Here he was under a vow of celibacy: but falling in love, he violated his vow by marriage, and unfortunately the object of his affection was a nun, who was also under a vow to remain unmarried. It was a misfortune that so many of the German reformers fell in love with nuns; for although the protestants contended that the vows were not obligatory, still it led the more pious among the catholics to listen the more readily to the polemics on their own side, when they asserted, that the early protestants were influenced in their course by human motives and worldly affections, rather than by the love of God. He afterwards entered the service of the elector of Branden-

berg; and was legal adviser of the town-council of Nuremberg. He died in 1536. He left no theological work of any importance. His defence of his marriage with a nun is not well written; but it is interesting, from the encomiastic epistle of Luther prefixed to it.—*Biog. Universelle. Gen. Dict.*

APOLINARIUS, or APOLINARIS, or as the name is sometimes written, Apollinarius, was the son of a presbyter of the same name, of Laodicea in Syria. The celibacy of the clergy, it will be observed, was not at that time enforced, although the prevalent feeling in the Church was that it was generally expedient for the clergy to remain unmarried. He was born in the early part of the fourth century, and was educated under his father, who was a teacher of grammar; and in the church of which his father was a presbyter, he was himself appointed to the office of reader. He early distinguished himself by his opposition to philosophical infidelity, and his work against Porphyry, extending to thirty books, is highly spoken of. In the year 362 the apostate emperor, Julian, published an absurd edict, forbidding Christians to read or teach the Greek authors; and Apolinarius united with his father in seeking to remedy the inconvenience thence resulting: the father wrote a grammar in a Christian form, and put the books of Moses into heroic verse, and the other books of the Old Testament, into various Greek metres; while the subject of the present article converted the four gospels, and the evangelical doctrine, into dialogues, after the manner of Plato. He published the Jewish antiquities in verse, and composed tragedies, lyric poems, and even comedies, on subjects taken from Scripture.

This attempt on the part of two persons, to compose works which would supply the place of the Greek classics, was sufficiently bold, but it did not occupy the whole of the time of the younger Apolinarius; he wrote also, and dedicated to Julian, a refutation of paganism, on grounds of reason, and published numerous expositions of Scrip-



ture, rendered more valuable from his acquaintance with the Hebrew language. In all the controversies of that controversial age, he seems, moreover, to have taken an active part. The Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, and Manichees, all found an opponent in him; while the Millenarians boasted of his support.

When the illustrious St Athanasius, on his return to Egypt, after his second exile in 348, passed through Laodicea, Apolinarius communicated with him: that church, as well as most of the churches in Syria, were at that time under the jurisdiction of Arian prelates. Even as in these days it is possible for men denying the fundamental principles of the Church, to hold bishoprics in the church of England, through the influence of government, so in the fourth century, through similar influence, Arian prelates were forced upon the Eastern church. And as low-churchism in all its shapes is essentially intolerant, the Arian prelates, as usual, had recourse to all the arts of persecution, in order to silence their opponents. Apolinarius was therefore put out of the Church by his heretical diocesan, merely because he had expressed his adhesion to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and held out the right hand of fellowship to the noblest champion of Christian doctrine which the Church has ever produced since the death of St John. But the Almighty God had not forgotten His Church; on the death of Constantius, the cause of orthodoxy prevailed, and Apolinarius became bishop of Laodicea.

Such was for a season the honourable career of Apolinarius, whose name afterwards became disgraced by being associated with a heresy which seems to have prevailed with his tacit sanction, long before he openly avowed his opinions. The principal doctrine by which Apolinarius and his followers were distinguished, was, that our Blessed Lord and Saviour had no rational soul, but that the Word supplied the office of it. With reference to this heretical opinion, Epiphanius gave them the denomination of *Dimæritæ*, and so entitled his article concerning them:

denoting persons who maimed the person of Christ, and made him consist of two parts only, animated flesh and divinity: whereas the catholic doctrine is, that our Blessed Lord and Saviour hath a Human Soul or Mind, a Human Body, and the Word. Or as the Athanasian creed expresses it, “Although he be God and man, yet he is not two, but One Christ; one, not by conversion of the Godhead unto flesh, but by taking the manhood into God; One altogether, not by *confusion* of substance: but by unity of person.”

Various other erroneous opinions are attributed to Apolinarius, but the above is the distinguishing doctrine of the heretical sect called from him Apolinarians. The first intimation of the existence of this heresy occurs in the council held at Alexandria in 362, for settling the disorders of the Church; but it was not then connected with the name of Apolinarius; nor even in 369, when the heresy was certainly professed by a number of persons scattered about Syria and Greece, do we find Apolinarius openly connected with them. The heresy was very strongly condemned by St Athanasius, in a work written, at the close of life, with his accustomed vigour and richness of thought; but still the name of Apolinarius does not appear. That a general suspicion attached to Apolinarius, of his being favourable to the heresy, is not to be denied; but according to his own statement, St Athanasius died in persuasion of his orthodoxy. Perhaps the veneration with which he could not fail to regard the great champion of orthodoxy, prevented Apolinarius from declaring himself at once; but certain it is, that when the death of Athanasius was followed by an open avowal of heresy on the part of Apolinarius, an avowal of which the ecclesiastical authorities of the day were for a time incredulous. They remembered his past services, and hoped that merely some explanation was required. They still dealt gently with him, when he even attacked the catholics, and formed his followers into a sect. His creed was anathematized long before he was personally animadverted.

on. He was condemned by name for the first time in the year 378, by a council held at Rome. The sentence was confirmed by a council held at Alexandria in the same year, and by the Œcumenical council of Constantinople, in 381. Theodoret says it was in this year that Apolinarius declared himself openly at the head of his party, "having till then endeavoured to hide his impiety."

He is supposed to have died about the year 382. In the "Church of the Fathers," Mr Newman offers some remarks on the character of Apolinarius, with his usual gentle and affectionate spirit, the more remarkable from his well known horror of any heresy bearing upon the person of our blessed Lord; he concludes by the following extract from Epiphanius, who, speaking of the Apolinarian heresy, writes thus mournfully:—

"That aged and venerable man, who was ever so singularly dear to us, and to the holy father, Athanasius of blessed memory, and to all orthodox men, Apolinarius of Laodicea, he it was who originally struck out and propagated this doctrine. And at first when we were assured of it by some of his disciples, we disbelieved that such a man could admit such an error into his walk, and patiently waited in hope, till we might ascertain the state of the case. For we argued that his youths, who came to us, not entering into the profound views of so learned and clear-minded a master, had invented these statements of themselves, not learned them from him. For there were many points in which those who came to us were at variance with each other: some of them ventured to say that Christ had brought down His Body from above (and this strange theory, admitted into the mind, developed itself into worse notions); others of them denied that Christ had taken a soul; and some ventured to say that Christ's Body was consubstantial with the Godhead, and thereby caused great confusion in the East."—*Hær.* lxxvii. 2.

He proceeds afterwards:

"Full of distress became our life at that time, that



between brethren so exemplary as the forementioned, a quarrel should at all have arisen, that the enemy of man might work divisions among us. And great, my brethren, is the mischief done to the mind from such a cause. For were no question ever raised on the subject, the matter would be most simple: (for what gain has accrued to the world from such novel doctrine, or what benefit to the Church? rather has it not been an injury, as causing hatred and dissension?) but when the question was raised, it became formidable; it did not tend to do good; for whether a man disallows this particular point, or even the slightest, still it is a denial. For we must not, even in a trivial matter, turn aside from the path of truth. No one of the ancients ever maintained it—prophet, or apostle, or evangelist, or commentator—down to these our times, when this so perplexing doctrine proceeded from the most learned man aforesaid. His was a mind of no common cultivation; first in the preliminaries of literature in Greek education, then as a master of dialectics and argumentation. Moreover he was most grave in his whole life, and reckoned among the very first of those who ever deserved the love of the orthodox, and so continued till the maintenance of this doctrine. Nay, he had undergone banishment, for not submitting to the Arians;—but why enlarge on it? It afflicted us much, and gave us a sorrowful time, as our enemy is ever accustomed to do.”—*Ibid.* 24. *Socrates. Sozomen. Theodoret. Epiphanius. Lardner. Newman.*

APOLLINARIUS, (Saint) bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, about 177 A. D. presented to Marcus Aurelius an apology for the Christians, and wrote against the pagans and heretics of that time, especially the Montanists: but his writings are lost.

AQUINAS, THOMAS, called the angelic doctor, was the son of Landulph, count of Aquino, and lord of Loretto and

Belcastro, who was nephew to the emperor Frederic, and allied to St Louis of France, and the royal houses of Sicily and Arragon. His mother, Theodora, was also of noble birth, and even, as some say, of royal descent. Neither the year nor the place of his birth is quite certain; but he was born most probably according to the usual account at the end of the year 1226, and either at Aquino, Belcastro, or Rocca Secca. Certain it is that at five years old he was placed under the care of the monks of Monte Cassino, whose school 'was frequented by the young nobility. Here his progress was so rapid that his father determined when he was thirteen years of age to send him to the university of Naples, which had been founded by the emperor Frederic II. in the year 1224. But before he went to the university he visited his mother at Loretto, where, in the midst of society, the youth was distinguished by the recollectedness and gravity of his deportment: he spoke little and always to the purpose; and employed his time in prayer, study, and religious exercises. His great delight was to distribute the alms supplied by his parents at the castle gate; and plentiful as their supply was, he was found to rob himself of his victuals, until his father gave permission to distribute the alms at discretion. At Naples he profited under the instructions of Peter Martin, and Peter of Hibernia, one of the most learned men of his age; and notwithstanding the dissipation by which he was surrounded, through the influx of students into a university so highly favoured by the emperor, he was distinguished by the purity of his morals, and the fervour of his devotions. Here he determined, at the persuasion of one John of St Julian, and by his own inclinations, to embrace the profession of a Dominican; the founder of which order had died about twenty years before. The conduct of the Dominicans, anxious to secure for their order one so distinguished for his genius and his noble birth, is open to severe censure. They knew that it was contrary to the wishes of his parents, and all the members of his family, that he should

join their order ; and yet they encouraged him to set up his will in opposition to his parents, and when his parents sought to interfere, they aided him in trying to conceal himself. This is one of the few points in which the conduct of Thomas Aquinas is worthy of reproach. At seventeen years of age, backed by the Dominicans, he set himself in opposition to his parents, to whom his allegiance was then due. But the conduct of his family was far from prudent, and in one instance so decidedly wicked, that, with the exception of taking the first false step, the conduct of the young man was exemplary. He took the first step without consulting his parents, and at the age of seventeen he commenced his novitiate in the Dominican convent at Naples. On the news of this step his mother set out for that city, but on hearing of her intentions, the Dominicans removed him to the convent of St Sabina at Rome. She followed him, but anticipating her proceedings, Thomas had set out for Paris. He had proceeded as far as Aquapendente, when, as he was quenching his thirst at a fountain by the road side, his two brothers, who at that time were serving in the imperial army, and were commissioned by his mother to watch his movements, detected him, and brought him as a kind of prisoner to Rocca Secca, the family castle. Here he was confined for a twelve-month, or as some say for two years, and remained unshaken in his resolution, in spite of the affectionate entreaties of his mother and his two sisters : his sisters he converted, and through them he was supplied with a Bible, always the chief subject of his studies, Aristotle's logic, and the sentences of Peter Lombard. The advancement of his mind was not, therefore, retarded. His military brothers were more violent in their proceedings, and had recourse on one occasion to a most atrocious act of cruelty and wickedness in order to undermine his virtue and corrupt his morals. But, like another Joseph, he resisted the tempter.

When his determination had been fully proved, Pope Innocent IV. as well as the emperor, interfered in his



favour, and his mother connived at his escape. He was let down out of his tower by his sisters, and repairing once more to Naples, he there, when he was scarcely twenty years old, made his formal profession at the Dominican convent.

It may here be remarked that the influence of his conduct upon his family was such that, in the event, his brothers became sincere penitents: one of his sisters died abbess of St Mary's at Capua; while the younger sister, Theodora, married the count of Marsico, and lived and died in great virtue; as did his mother.

He was now sent to Cologne, where Albertus Magnus, (see his life) who was also of the Dominican order, presided over the schools. Under the instruction of Albertus Magnus, his mind made rapid progress. But he studied, not to win praise of man, but to be an instrument of good in the hands of God. He did not permit, therefore, his school exercises to interrupt his prayer. By an habitual sense of the divine presence, and devout aspirations, he kept his mind continually raised to God; and, in difficult points, he redoubled his fervor in prayer with more earnestness than his application to study. Neither master nor prelate, in those days, had the hardiness to assert that to attend the public worship of God on a week-day was a waste of time. While he attentively imbibed the instructions of his master, he seems to have been afraid of vain-glory in himself, and by his silence he gave occasion to his fellow students to think him pre-eminent in stupidity. On one occasion a good natured student offered to explain to him his lessons, and though himself better qualified to teach, he listened to him with attention. From his taciturnity, and the massiveness of his frame combined, they called him "The dumb ox" or the "*Bos magnus Siciliæ*." Albertus, however, was better acquainted with his concealed genius, and on one occasion exclaimed to them, "The bellowing of this dumb ox, as you call him, will be, one day, heard all over the world."

In 1245 he accompanied Albertus Magnus to Paris:

the latter having been appointed for three years to occupy the chair of theology in the college of St James, assigned to the Dominicans, who were for that reason called in France Jacobins. Here Thomas took his degrees of M.A. and D.D. and at the early age of twenty-five, was allowed by a dispensation of the university, to give lectures in divinity,—an office not ordinarily undertaken by any one before the age of thirty-five. He now began to write those works which had so wonderful an influence on the theology of the Church. It is said that he sometimes dictated to three or four secretaries at a time, and it is to be remarked, that he never wrote, lectured, or disputed, without earnest and continued prayer beforehand. It is, the pious reader will be inclined to conjecture, to this circumstance that we may attribute his almost miraculous powers of composition. He died before he was fifty years of age, and left of his works nineteen volumes folio; these, too, were the works, not of a retired student, but of one very frequently busily employed in the affairs of the world. It is impossible to calculate what the power of prayer may be even in this age, if this duty were to be more frequently and earnestly performed. To those who think thus, the conduct of those bishops of the English church, who almost compel their clergy to close their churches on every day but Sunday, because prayers, unless attended by a multitude, is a waste of time, must be regarded with feelings of very deep and solemn regret. The promise of the Divine Blessing is made to *two or three*, not merely to two or three *hundred*, gathered together in our Lord's Name.

It was not till 1253 that Thomass Aquinas took up his abode in Paris: after visiting it with Albertus Magnus, he returned to Cologne, where he was ordained priest; and we are told that to prepare himself for holy orders, he redoubled his watchings, prayers, and other spiritual exercises, and that he would spend several hours of the day and part of the night before the altar, humbling himself in acts of profound adoration and melting love, while

contemplating the ineffable Love of Christ. The Dominicans are called the Order of Preachers, and as a preacher Thomas Aquinas became eminent. In his sermons, the fire of his zeal was apparent: at Cologne, Paris, Rome, and other cities of Italy, he created the most extraordinary sensation: even Jews flocked to hear him, and many were converted, among whom two rabbins are especially named; and there is an account on record of a Good-Friday sermon by which the whole auditory were melted into tears, and he was obliged himself to stop in his discourse several times.

He was admitted to the public councils and to the private society of St Louis, who frequently consulted him before any business of importance was discussed by his ministers. Thomas Aquinas avoided the honour of dining with the king as much as he could, consistently with the respect due to royalty, and when dining with him was as silent and recollected as when in his convent. One day at the king's table, in a fit of absence, he exclaimed, "The argument is conclusive against the Manichees." His prior, who was also in waiting, and was more of a courtier, pulled his gown, and bade him remember where he was; but the good king, fearing lest he should forget the argument which had occurred to his mind, would not receive his apologies, but obliged him to dictate the argument to a secretary without delay.

The restraint which he thus placed upon himself must have been considerable, as his powers of repartee were great. When he called, one day, to pay his respects to Innocent IV: much money was spread before the pope, and he was employed in counting it. The pope felt ashamed at being detected by a man like Thomas Aquinas, thus employed, and, like many under such circumstances, sought to make an excuse by a pleasantry bordering on profaneness; "You see," said the pontiff, "the Church can no longer say, 'silver and gold have I none.'" Thomas Aquinas gravely and sternly rebuked the profane jest, and



replied, "True, holy father, nor can she say to the paralytic, 'Take up thy bed and walk.'"

The observation of Thomas Aquinas shews that he was not aware that miracles could be at that time performed, and at once condemns the miracles attributed to him by the Roman legends.

Another anecdote is told of him, that when asked who is in the way to become learned, he answered "whoever will content himself with a single book."

In 1265, he was offered the archbishopric of Naples, but neither on this nor on any other occasion would he accept preferment. Perhaps his strongest temptation was when the abbacy of Monte Cassino was offered to him. This spot, besides its natural attractions, must have been dear to him from early recollections, and here, without distraction, he might have pursued his studies and exercised his devotion: but he knew best what was for the good of his soul, and remained in the humbler sphere in which he had so long been usefully employed. In 1269 he was again lecturing and preaching in Paris, where he remained till 1272, when he returned to Naples. This was his last journey. He received a summons from Gregory X. to attend the second council of Lyons, which was called with a view of reconciling the eastern and western churches. The ambassadors of the emperor Michael Palæologus, together with the Greek prelates, were to assist at it. The council was to meet on the first day of May, 1274. At the end of January, though suffering from indisposition, Thomas Aquinas set out on his journey, accompanied by one friend, who was commissioned to take care of him. His disorder became more violent, and he was seized with a fever, at the castle of Maganza, where he had stopped to visit his niece: he nevertheless proceeded on his way until, finding the fever increase and his strength failing, he caused himself to be carried to Fossa Nuova, a Cistercian abbey, near Terracina. He had previously told his companion, Reynold, his anticipation that "he should

presently write no more." On entering the cloister of the convent, this impression was confirmed, and he exclaimed to the same friend, in the words of the 132nd psalm, "This is my rest for ever."

The monks themselves affectionately waited upon him, and would not delegate what they considered a privilege to servants : he meantime, as his end approached, longed the more ardently to enter into the joy of his Lord. The words of St Augustine were continually in his mouth, "Then shall I truly live, when I shall be quite filled with Thee alone and Thy love : now I am a burden to myself, because, Lord, I am not full of Thee." The monks begged him to dictate an exposition of the book of Canticles in imitation of St Bernard ; he answered, "Give me St Bernard's spirit and I will obey." But he yielded to their wishes ; and if his exposition of that most mysterious of all the Divine books is not what his erudition would have suggested, it is what love inspired him with, in his last moments, when his sanctified soul, washed in the Blood of the Lamb, was about to burst the chains of mortality, and enter into the delights of eternity. When he was too weak to dictate more, he recommended himself to the prayers of the monks, and begged them to depart, that he might employ the few precious moments he had to live with God alone. Reynold only was with him. To him he made a general confession of his whole life, and then, having received absolution, he asked for the viaticum. While the abbot and the community were preparing for the Holy Sacrament, he begged to be taken from off his bed and laid upon ashes spread upon the floor, and there he waited for the priest with tears of the most tender devotion. He professed his faith in Jesus his God and Redeemer, for whose honour he had studied, laboured, preached, and taught. "I trust," he said, "that I never advanced any tenet as Thy Word which I have not learned of Thee. If through ignorance I have done otherwise, I revoke every thing of the kind." He humbly submitted

his writings to the judgment of the Church. Then, recollecting himself, after other acts of faith, adoration and love, he received the Eucharist as his viaticum, himself distinctly making the responses. His peace and joy were apparent in the serenity of his countenance, and he was heard to say, "Soon, soon, will the God of all comfort complete His mercies on me, and fulfil all my desire. I shall shortly be satiated with Him, and drink of the torrent of His delights." Seeing all in tears around him, he comforted them, saying death was his gain and joy. Reynold said he had hoped to see him triumph over the enemies of the Church in the council of Lyons, and placed in a rank where he might do it signal service. Thomas answered: "I have asked my God, as the greatest favor, to let me die a simple religious man, and now I thank Him for it; it is a greater benefit than He has granted to many of His holy servants, that He was pleased to call me out of the world so early to enter into His joy: wherefore, grieve not for me, who am overwhelmed with joy." He thanked the monks of Fossa Nuova for their charity to him; and when one of the community asked him by what means we might live always faithful to God's grace, he answered; "Be assured that he, who shall always walk faithfully in His presence, always ready to give Him an account of all his actions, shall never be separated from Him by consenting to sin." These were his last words. He died on the 7th of March, 1274, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

His works are very numerous, being comprised, as is before stated, in nineteen volumes. His two chief works are his "*Catena Aurea*," which has lately been translated under the direction of three eminent divines of the church of England: and his "*Summa Theologiæ*." The latter is divided into three parts, the natural, physical, and sacramental: and although there may be parts to which a modern Anglican reader, availing himself of the greater light of later ages, may reasonably object, it is a work of such power, it contains such an able exposition of Christian morals, and so skilfully demonstrates the sacramental



character of our religion, that any persons would deserve the thanks of the English Church who should undertake its translation, either wholly or in part.—*Les Fleurs des Vies des Saints. Dupin. Moreri. Butler.*

ARBUTHNOT, ALEXANDER, was born in 1538. He was descended from an ancient family in the shire of Kincardine, and, after finishing his philosophical course, and teaching for some time in the university of St Andrews. he went to France, and prosecuted his studies under Cujacius. Being declared licentiate of laws, he came home in 1566, with the view of following that profession; but he soon found that the kirk, which at that time assumed a political character, was better adapted for his talents than the law, and he devoted himself to the protestant cause. In 1568 he was made principal of Aberdeen. He took an active part in the various controversies of the kirk, and was employed in the preparation of the “Book of Discipline.” In 1583 he received a presentation to one of the churches of St Andrews, but was prohibited by a royal warrant or “horning,” from accepting it. The cause of the royal indignation against him is not exactly known; but while the controversy as to his appointment was pending he died. His death took place on the 17th of October, 1583. He left behind him the character of a moderate and honest man, a man of learning, and a poet. Of the only printed work which he published it is said that no copy can be found—*McCrie’s Life of Melville. Biog. Brit. Spotiswood.*

ARIUS. Of the personal history of this notorious heresiarch, very few circumstances are known, notwithstanding the prevalence of his heresy, and the damage he occasioned to the catholic Church. He was the son of Ammonius, and was a native of Libya, bordering upon Egypt, but the year of his birth is not recorded. The first fact relating to him, with which we are acquainted, is that of his having been ordained deacon by Peter, the bishop or patriarch of

Alexandria, under whom he was soon after disgraced, for having held communion with the schismatic Meletians. The tendency of Arius's mind was evidently to what we should now style liberalism, and this will account for the success of his schism: the precise form of his heresy was not much regarded, but his principle of bringing down the mysteries of the Christian religion, so as to make it less unpalatable to the philosophical heathens, whose interest it was, under Constantine, to conform to the Church, seems to have rallied under his banner all the men of the world who were already in the Church. The heathens could be brought to suppose that a kind of inferior God had done some great work for mankind; but the philosophers were not prepared to receive the fact, that the one supreme God had become incarnate, that there might be a Mediator between God and man. But we are anticipating. The patriarch Peter suffered martyrdom in 312. During his imprisonment, several of the Alexandrian presbyters endeavoured to obtain his consent to the restoration of Arius, but he knew the man, and not only refused to comply, but warned Achillas and Alexander against him. Achillas succeeded Peter, and forgetful of the advice he had received, he admitted Arius into favor, and not only restored him to the diaconate, but appointed him, as we should now say, incumbent of one of the chief churches in Alexandria, of which there were nine: he, moreover, placed him at the head of the catechetical school.

It is said that, on the death of Achillas, Arius aspired to the primacy of the Egyptian church, and sought the bishopric of Alexandria for himself. His powers of persuasion, his popularity as a preacher, and the fascination of his manners, had secured for him a strong party, but the difference of age between himself and Alexander, which must have been considerable, at once accounts for the elevation of the latter, and is an evidence of the indecency of Arius in becoming a competitor at all. The new patriarch endeavoured to soothe the disappointment of Arius

by preferments and favours, and by giving him every imaginable demonstration of his esteem and friendship.

But, as Maimbourg observes, “the envy which proceeds from ambition, is a wild beast, which benefits can never tame; they being so many marks of greatness which is always insupportable in him who bestows them.” Arius resolved only to use the benefits he received to the injury of him who conferred them; and because the integrity of Alexander’s life was unimpeachable, he determined, first of all, to attack his doctrine, and then to head a party against him. Alexander was accustomed to hold public meetings of the Alexandrian clergy, and in one of these Arius, objecting to the doctrine laid down by his diocesan, openly accused Alexander of Sabellianism. Such a charge, or even insinuation, could not in those days be made with impunity; the love of Christ was such, that a heresy against His person was not for a moment to be borne with patience. But Alexander committed an error, which caused him much annoyance and difficulty, by entering into argument with Arius. The subject in dispute was not a matter of argument: it was a question to be settled at once by reference to the tradition of the Church; what had the Church received and always believed? Perhaps at first it was difficult to bring the matter to this point; but this was the point to which it might easily be brought, when, in opposition to Alexander, Arius propounded his own doctrine on the subject: it was the point to which it was finally brought at the council of Nice. The Christian temper, meekness, and forbearance of Alexander were more conspicuous throughout the controversy than the powers of his mind; his Christian spirit, however, led him to maintain the cause of orthodoxy, while, in the absence of that spirit, the superior genius of Arius only involved him in heresy. The doctrine of Arius may here be given, as it is clearly and briefly stated by Döllinger.

“His doctrine was this:—The Son sprung not from the nature of the Father, but was created from nothing:



he had, indeed, an existence before the world, even before time, but not from eternity. He is, therefore, in essence different from the Father, and is in the order of creatures, whom he, however, precedes in excellence, as God created all things, even time, by his instrumentality; whence he was called the Son of God, the Logos, or Word of God. As a creature the Son is perfect, and as like to the Father as a creature can be to the Creator. But as he has received all things, as a gift, from the favour of the Father, as there was a period in which he was not, so there is an infinite distance between him and the nature of the Father; of which nature he cannot even form a perfect idea, but can enjoy only a defective knowledge of the same. His will was originally variable, capable of good and of evil, as is that of all other rational creatures: he is, comparatively at least, free from sin; not by nature, but by his good use of his power of election: the Father, therefore, foreseeing his perseverance in good, imparted to him that dignity and sublimity above all other creatures, which shall continue to be the reward of his virtues. Although he is called God, he is not so in truth, but was deified in that sense in which men, who have attained to a high degree of sanctity, may arrive at a participation of the Divine prerogatives. The idea then of a generation of the Son from the essence of the Father, is to be absolutely rejected.

“This doctrine, which must have corresponded to the superficial understandings, and to the yet half-pagan ideas of many who then called themselves Christians, attacked the very soul of the Christian doctrine of the redemption; for according to this doctrine it was not God made man, but a changeable creature, who effected the great work of the redemption of fallen man. The devout Christian, to whom faith in the God-man, Christ, the only Divine Mediator, opened the way to an intimate union with God, saw by this doctrine that his Redeemer and Mediator was as infinitely removed from the essence of God as himself;

he saw himself driven back into the ancient pagan estrangement from God, and removed to an unattainable distance from him."

Arius was now, as his ambition desired, at the head of a party or faction, and no one could be better qualified for its management. He is described by Epiphanius "as tall, and extremely comely in his figure, with an extraordinary delicacy in his features, which gave lustre to his whole person: yet grave and serious in his carriage, with a certain air of austerity in his looks, which made him pass for a man of great virtue and sanctity of life. His garb was modest, but withal neat. His manner of receiving people was very courteous and ingratiating; and notwithstanding his mighty seriousness and the severity of his mien, he could soothe and flatter with all imaginable wit and address, those whom he had a mind to bring over to his opinion, and engage in his party." Arius, being such a person, began to preach his doctrine in the Church, where it was immediately received as from an oracle, by those who heard him. He had private conferences about it, and spread it in society, very artfully contriving to introduce it in private discourse; he visited freely with all sorts of people, and won to his side some of the chief persons in the city; especially did he succeed among the women. Seven hundred virgins, who had dedicated themselves to religion in Alexandria, placed themselves under his direction. All this time the primate appears to have been almost culpably inert: he had indeed summoned another meeting of his clergy, but Arius had been permitted thereat to state his doctrines freely, and to argue in their defence, and the primate hesitated, "applauding," as Sozoman tells us, "sometimes the one party, and sometimes the other." He hoped to enable Arius to explain away what was objectionable in his tenets.

But this could not last. The error of Arius becoming daily more confirmed, and he more bold in asserting it, the heresy began to spread beyond the Alexandrian churches. The indecision of Alexander excited the mur-

murs of the Catholics; and at last he assembled a council in Alexandria of one hundred bishops of the provinces of Egypt and Libya, in which the impious doctrine of Arius was condemned, and he himself, refusing to retract his errors, solemnly deposed from the priesthood, excommunicated, and driven from the city with all his party.

Arius now saw the necessity of strengthening his party from without, and of obtaining the countenance of some influential bishops in the Church. In all ages heretical or latitudinarian bishops have been found, and they were not wanting then. A worldly spirit had been admitted into the Church, and prelates were found more anxious to increase the numbers of professing members, and to conciliate the favour of the government, than to maintain the truth which they had received. Necessary as his excommunication was, Arius had now the character of a martyr to principle. In Egypt he was already supported by the Meletian faction, who, although they professed to be orthodox in their creed, yet, as a faction against the Church, united with Arius even after he had fallen into heresy. But the countenance of these schismatics was of small consideration, compared with the powerful aid frankly tendered him on his excommunication, by the leading men in the great Catholic communities of Asia Minor and the East. Palestine was the first to afford him a retreat from Alexandrian orthodoxy, where he received a cordial reception from the learned Eusebius, metropolitan of Cesarea, and some others; who, in letters in his behalf, did not hesitate to declare their concurrence with him, to the full extent of his heresy.

Yet, in spite of the countenance of these and other eminent men, Arius found it difficult to maintain his ground against the general indignation which his heresy excited. He was resolutely opposed by Philogonius, patriarch of Antioch, and Macarius of Jerusalem; who promptly answered the call made upon them by Alexander, in his circulars addressed to the Syrian churches. For Alexander was no longer asleep. St Athanasius was now a deacon of



the Alexandrian church, and had assumed the ascendancy over the mind of Alexander, of which probably neither of them was conscious at the time, but which was soon seen in the vigour of the patriarch's proceedings. Alexander, on hearing of the reception of Arius by the bishops of Palestine, addressed to them seventy circular letters, the contents of which Arius acknowledged to be true; and these letters had the proper effect upon many who were at first undecided as to the proper steps to be taken. But Arius soon found a refuge from the growing unpopularity which attended him in Palestine. His early friend, Eusebius, of Nicomedia, was the ecclesiastical adviser of the emperor's sister, Constantia, and he declared in favour of Arius, inviting him to his diocese. Arius, under such patronage, assumed a less insolent tone, the influence of Eusebius was exerted in his favour, and both in Bithynia and Palestine, urgent solicitations were addressed to Alexander, in order to effect his re-admission into the Church.

In the mean time Constantine had become, in the year 324, lord of the East. The controversy, as a matter of course, attracted his attention. He viewed it as a politician, that is, as one who aimed at peace apart from truth. He had perceived that the power of the old polytheism was worn out; that an imperium in imperio had been formed; that the kingdom of Christ had so established itself on earth, that wherever the emperor had a civil officer, the Church had an ecclesiastical one; and that where there was a difficulty in yielding obedience to both, the imperial officer was disregarded, and the ecclesiastical officer obeyed: and he had come to the resolution of forming an alliance with a power which, while it taught allegiance to the state, recognized an authority superior to the state, and won its way by patient suffering. This led to the alliance between church and state: an alliance which has answered the providential ends for which it was designed, and seems now in our days to be approaching to dissolution. The alliance at first was such that the Church controlled the state, and compelled it to adopt the prin-

ciples of Christianity ; but now, that we are expecting the general apostacy which is to accompany the appearance of antichrist, the hold of the Church upon the powers of the world has diminished, and the state is controlling the Church, the inferior usurping authority over the superior, and thus gradually undermining the faith: the end aimed at by the statesman, is peace ; peace with the maintenance of truth if possible, but at all events peace. The end aimed at by the Church, is the establishment upon earth of God's truth ; and peace, but not peace apart from truth. Constantine, as a politician, (and whatever he afterwards became, he at first regarded Christianity only as a statesman,) was sorely disappointed at finding the Church itself divided upon a point which, to religious Christians, is of vital importance, but which to him, an unbaptized heathen, appeared to be little more than a dispute about words. At first he imagined that the controversy might be terminated by sending among the disputants Hosius, the bishop of Cordova, with an epistle, in which he designated the points of difference as an unnecessary and trivial contest about words. But in vain. Another synod was called at Alexandria, in which, in the presence and with the approbation of Hosius, the condemnation of Arius and of his doctrines was confirmed. After this the emperor, in 325, decreed that a general council should meet at Nice, in Bithynia.—(See the life of St Athanasius.)

The conduct of Constantine was consistent. He perceived that, to secure peace and good order, he must support the stronger, and suppress the weaker party ; and when he discovered that the ecclesiastical authorities were earnest in condemning the tenets of Arius, as being an audacious innovation on the received creed, he determined to support them ; and now he professed himself to be a zealous advocate for the truth. He attacked Arius with a vehemence, which can only be ascribed to his impatience, on finding that any individual had presumed to disturb the peace of society. He even ventured to expound the doctrine of the Church ; although his letter is remark-

able for shewing his ignorance of doctrines which were never intended for discussion among the unbaptized heathen, or the secularized Christian.

In the council of Nice, of which an account will be given in the life of Athanasius, assembled about three hundred and eighteen bishops, of whom the greater part were Orientals; and of these only twenty-two favored the principles of Arius. The council was not assembled to dispute or discuss; this was what the Arians desired, and at first a little discussion between individuals on both sides took place, but it was soon suppressed. The object was, that the representatives of those various churches, of which the one Catholic Church was composed, might bear witness as to the tradition of the Church, as to the doctrine which those churches had received, and held from the beginning: and therefore it was that the minority were compelled to subscribe. It was said to them in effect,—We do not ask you your private opinion or judgment on this great doctrine, we tell you what the doctrine of the Church is: will you receive it? But the council perceived that, in dealing with Arius and his followers, it would be necessary to oppose to their sophisms decided and unequivocal formularies of faith. For this purpose they inserted in the creed the assertion of the fact, that the Son “is very God, not made but begotten, of one substance (*ὁμοουσιος*) with the Father.” Some, amongst whom was Eusebius, the patron of Arius, consented to subscribe to the council, adapting to these clear expressions sophistical and unjustifiable interpretations of their own; but in the end, this Nicene symbol, (which we use with a slight addition made afterwards at the Constantinopolitan council, to this day in our communion office,) has served to distinguish between the orthodox and the heterodox, the Catholic and the heretic. When the emperor, who was present at the council, threatened all who would not receive what was thus declared to be the faith once and once for all delivered to the saints, with deposition and exile, the seventeen bishops, who at first hesitated, offered their



signatures to the creed. Only Arius, and two Egyptian bishops, Theoras and Secundus, persevered in their obstinate refusal. Constantine banished them to Illyria; and three months later, Eusebius, of Nicomedia, and Theognis, of Nice, were also sent into exile.

For more than two years Arianism met with no encouragement from the emperor; but the intrigues of the Arians had during that period been in progress, and were at length successful. The stern simplicity of the Catholic prelates was less congenial to the atmosphere of the court than the polite demeanour and softer manners of the Arian, or, as they were called from Eusebius, of Nicomedia, the Eusebian bishops: the eunuchs and slaves of the palace embraced the tenets of Arianism; and the most sacred of all subjects was permitted to become matter of fashionable conversation and literary amusement. The emperor's sister, Constantia, under the influence of Eusebius, entreated Constantine on her death-bed to extend his favor to the Arians, and especially commended to his regard the presbyter himself. The emperor, too, was disappointed at discovering that the heresy had penetrated too deeply into the Church, to be at once crushed by the decree of the council. He was prepared gradually to listen to those who represented Arius as an ill-used man, who had been sacrificed to the passions of his opponents, and to persecute whom recourse had been had to vain and idle distinctions of words. Accordingly, in 327, Constantine recalled Arius from banishment, and received as a proof of the orthodoxy of the heretic, a confession of faith couched in general terms, which Arius presented to him. Eusebius, of Nicomedia, and Theognis, now presumed to return to their churches. Their party every day acquired new support and strength at the imperial court, and their next steps were to wreak their revenge on their opponents; to cast off the yoke of the Nicene council; and to restore Arius to the communion of the Church. Many of the most distinguished of the Oriental prelates, such as Eustathius, of Antioch, were deposed,

either by synods or by mandates from the emperor, and their sees given to Arians. It remained to attack the illustrious Athanasius himself who, in 326, became bishop of Alexandria. In him, the great question, says Mr Newman, was tried "whether or not the Church would adopt the secular principles, to which the Arians were willing to subject it, and abandon its faith as the condition of gaining present peace and prosperity." To him, before all others, was the task assigned of defending and preserving the Catholic faith in the East, amidst the storms and miseries of the times which now followed.

The emperor signified to Athanasius his pleasure that Arius, who had presented to Constantine an ambiguous confession, should be restored to the communion of the church of Alexandria. He threatened the patriarch with deposition if he refused to comply. To such an order, though from his sovereign, Athanasius of course would yield no obedience; and on his explaining the motives of his conduct, the emperor professed himself well satisfied that he should use his own discretion in the matter. But notwithstanding this, at a council held at Jerusalem, under the influence of the Arian party, Arius was restored to the communion of the Church, and was sent to Alexandria. On his arrival, the anger of the populace against him broke out in a tumult, and he was recalled to Constantinople to give a further account of his opinions.

There the last and memorable scene of his history took place. On his arrival at Constantinople, he was instructed by his patron Eusebius how to act towards the emperor, who suspected him of not sincerely holding the doctrine of Nice, and of having deceived him in the confession of faith which he had delivered to him, and in which the term *consubstantial* had not been inserted. Eusebius, more anxious for the triumph of the low-church party than for the maintenance of its dogma, urged Arius at once to sign the form of the council of Nice, even with that word in it. On his interview with the emperor, Constan-

tine adverted to the disturbances which had occurred at Alexandria, and expressed his doubts of the sincerity of Arius: he then desired him to declare at once, without evasion, whether he did or did not hold the Nicene faith. Arius presented the emperor with a confession, in which the terms of Scripture were made the vehicle of his own impieties: it was such as he had delivered when recalled from exile, and with which the emperor, unable to understand the points of the controversy, had been at that time contented; but now he said, "This is not sufficient; you must forthwith sign, in my presence, the decrees and the creed of the council without alteration." With a smiling countenance Arius did so. Constantine was surprised; and to make still more sure of the man, proposed that he should swear that he had subscribed sincerely, and that this was his belief, without any mental reservation or evasion. Arius took the oath. The emperor remarked, that "Arius had well sworn, if his words had no double meaning: otherwise, God would avenge." It is said that Arius, when he went to the palace, carried concealed in his bosom, a form of faith which he had signed, and which contained his impious doctrine, and that to this he mentally referred when he swore that he believed the creed which he had signed.

In the mean time the aged Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, underwent a persecution of entreaties and threats, and was warned by the Eusebian or Arian faction that he should be ejected from his see, unless, upon a day appointed, he should admit Arius to the holy communion. The Eusebians were more desirous of proclaiming the triumph of their party at court, than careful to conceal that their principles remained unchanged. Alexander and the Catholics were well aware that the emperor had been deceived, and for seven days previous to that appointed for the readmission of the heretic, the church of Constantinople, bishop and people, gave themselves up to fasting and prayer. Alexander sought in vain to induce the emperor to recall his imperial mandate. He then had recourse to



a measure very rarely resorted to in the primitive ages, but of which there are other examples. The Church being powerless, he prayed God to take the cause into his own hand, and to punish the offender ; a course never adopted but in extreme cases, for, as St Chrysostom observes, we may anathematize the opinions of heretics, but not their persons. Lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, while prostrate on the ground, which he watered with his tears, the bishop of Constantinople prayed : “ Lord, if it be certain that Arius shall to-morrow be admitted to the communion of the Church, take now Thy servant out of the world, and confound not with the wicked, one who serveth Thee with the principle of true piety. But if thou wilt vouchsafe to spare Thy Church, as I know Thou wilt, hear what Eusebius hath dared to utter against Thee, and suffer not Thine heritage to be put to confusion and brought to ruin. Root out Arius from the earth, lest, being received into the Church, his heresy be received with him, and impiety henceforth be regarded among Christians as true piety itself.”

It was a solemn act of a powerless and persecuted church ; and what was bound on earth was bound in heaven. The prayer was heard. The next day, Eusebius and his followers waited upon Arius at his lodging in the palace, and they were conducting him with triumph to the cathedral, when the power of God was made manifest in behalf of His Church. As Arius drew near the chief street, which was named after Constantine, the wretched man, conscience-stricken, as it is supposed, at the thought of his perjury, was seized with a sudden fear : he was compelled suddenly to withdraw from the procession, and, not immediately returning, he was found in a place of retirement, dead, his bowels having gushed out. So perished the heresiarch Arius, by the visitation of God.

The materials for this article have been chiefly taken from *Maimbourg's history of Arianism*, and from *Newman's* learned history of the Arians of the 4th century.—*Eusebius. Sozomen. Theodoret. Epiphanius. Athanasius.*

ARMINIUS, JAMES. This very celebrated theological writer, whose original name was Hermannsen, latinized into Arminius, was born in 1560, at Oudewater, in Holland. His father, who was a cutler, died when he was young, and he was indebted for his first education to a converted Romanist, Theodore Emilius by name, by whom he was taken to Utrecht, and there sent to school. Losing his patron when he was fifteen years of age, he found another protector in Rudolf Snell, a mathematician of high character, who placed him, in 1575, in the university of Marpurg. While he was here his native town of Oudewater was sacked by the Spaniards, and among the victims his mother, brother, and sister perished. Having visited Oudewater, to ascertain the truth of the dreadful report which had reached him, he went to Rotterdam, when Peter Bertius, the protestant, or rather reformed pastor there, befriended him, and with his friend Peter Bertius the younger, he was sent to the university of Leyden. In 1582 the guild of merchants in Amsterdam provided funds for his future education for the ministry, on the recommendation of the burgomaster and ministers of that town; Arminius signing an agreement that he would not serve the church of any other city without their permission. In consequence of this arrangement he went to Geneva, where he attended the lectures of Theodore Beza, under whom he was imbued with Calvinism. He did not stay long at Geneva, having given offence by delivering lectures on the logic of Ramus, and he went to Basle, where he was so well received, that he was offered the degree of D.D. at once. This he declined, as he considered himself too young; and in 1583 he returned to Geneva, where he remained till 1586, when he visited Italy, and attended the lectures of James Zarabella, at Padua. On hearing of this expedition, the burgomasters of Amsterdam were much alarmed: they feared lest the principles of their protégé should be shaken by seeing the devotion of the Italians, and their fears were soon excited the more by hearing that he had kissed the pope's slipper, and had

visited cardinal Bellarmine. This was the mere invention of the jealous Calvinists, for Arminius was at this time so devoted to the Calvinistic system, that he viewed with a religious horror all that he saw at Rome. He cleared his character, to the satisfaction of the learned burgomasters, from the imputations which had been cast upon it, on his return to Amsterdam; and there, in his 28th year, he was elected to the ministerial office, and soon became celebrated as a preacher.

In 1589 occurred the event which gave a colour to the whole life of Arminius. The ministers of Delft were engaged in a controversy, in the course of which some of them, in order to answer a common opponent, asserted what is called the sublapsarian scheme; that is to say, they maintained that God permitted without pre-ordaining the fall of man, and that when Adam, and in him his posterity, were rendered sinful by the fall, he chose certain individuals as the objects of redemption, leaving the rest in a state of sin and condemnation. By this doctrine the stricter Calvinists were greatly shocked. They seemed to think that their privileges, as the peculiar favourites of heaven, were invaded: they held what is called the supralapsarian scheme, namely, that *before* the fall of Adam the divine decree had appointed certain individuals to everlasting damnation. The two parties were agreed in asserting that Predestination is the antecedent, unconditional, immutable decree of God concerning the salvation or damnation of each individual; but they differed in this, that the sublapsarians made this decree subordinate to the creation and fall of man, whereas the supralapsarians regarded man *before* the fall, and even before his creation, as the object of this unconditional decree, thus apparently making God the author of sin: we say *apparently*, for we have no right to charge them with the disavowed consequences of their doctrine, although the disavowal of such a consequence is creditable rather to their piety than their logic.



By the supra-lapsarians Arminius was employed to maintain the doctrine he had learned, not indeed from the Bible, but from Beza, the tradition of the Calvinistic party: he was to vindicate the severity of the good God, and their own exclusive right to the divine favour. But when the honest mind of Arminius was addressed to the subject, his moral nature revolted against the doctrine, and his intellect perceived that it was not supported by Scripture rightly interpreted. The result of his enquiries was, that in what related to free-will, predestination, and grace, the Calvinistic system was erroneous. As Calvin was not miraculously inspired, if he was inspired at all, Arminius, in representing the great God to be, as He is, merciful and just, was quite as likely to be right as Calvin, whose system asserted the contrary. The Bible, and the Bible only, was to each party, *theoretically* their religion, and both in theory held the right of private judgment; neither party had therefore a right to condemn the other, though both might express an *opinion* that the opposite party was in error. But the right of private judgment, though often held theoretically, is held *practically* by few, except Socinians and Deists. The real religion at that time prevalent in Holland was as much traditional as is the religion of the Catholics; whoever refused to receive the traditional doctrines of Calvin were subject to persecution. Accordingly, when Arminius, now fully convinced of the heterodoxy of Calvin, ventured in the year 1591, in an exposition of Romans vii. 14. to state his opinion that the apostle is there speaking of man, in an unregenerate state, a violent dispute arose between him and Plancius, his colleague in the ministry. These two learned men publicly, maintained each his private judgment on that important passage of Scripture, and some of the Dutch ministers, whose judgment accorded with that of Plancius, would have proceeded to the persecution of Arminius, because his private judgment differed from theirs and that of Calvin. The magistrates, who were probably some of

them inclined to think the God of Christians more merciful and more just than he was represented by their pastors, interfered in time, and silenced the disputants.

The piety and courage of Arminius were exerted and exhibited in 1602, when a pestilential disease raged at Amsterdam. and here it may be observed, that more credit is due to a Protestant minister than to a Catholic priest, when they both expose themselves to danger on such an occasion. The Catholic priest has to administer the Holy Sacrament as the viaticum to every dying person desirous to receive it, and to administer this he is in duty bound to risk all danger ; he must do so, if he has any sense of his own responsibility, or any love for the souls of men. A mere Protestant minister is only required to talk to the dying man, and he may feel either that the sick person will be unable to give heed to what he says, or that others can talk to him quite as well as he could do himself : his zeal in visiting the sick not being quickened by a sense of ministerial responsibility, and his people not caring for the sacraments,—his zeal on such an occasion is the more praiseworthy. A Catholic clergyman, whether Anglican or Roman, would be deserving of grave censure if he were to refuse to expose himself ; an ultra-protestant minister is worthy of praise for what must be to him, considered as a mere preacher, a work of supererogation. The disease extended to Leyden, and caused vacancies there in two professorial chairs : one of these was offered to Arminius. The burgo-masters of Amsterdam were unwilling to give their consent to the removal of one so popular and beloved as Arminius, but their consent being at length obtained, he removed, in 1603, to Leyden. But before he removed, as he was accused of what the Calvinists call heresy, he held a conference with Gomarus, another professor of that university. Gomarus expressed himself satisfied with what occurred in the interview, on all points, except that of predestination ; and a difference of opinion on that point he was willing to tolerate. We here present the reader

with an epitome of the sentiments of these two authors, as presented to us by Limborch in his memoirs of Episcopius.

The sentiments of Gomarus were as follow,—That God, alike to make known His tender mercy, and inflexible justice, did of His own mere good pleasure, divide from all eternity, mankind into two parts; the one, and that by far the less, he predestinated to eternal salvation; and the other, necessarily the greater, he reprobated to everlasting damnation. And for the accomplishment of His decree, founded thereon, He resolved to create man, and prescribe to him the observance of a law; but so arranging the circumstances of his condition, that he must unavoidably, with all his posterity, be involved in a state of sin, and thereby, with them, justly become liable to eternal damnation. Nevertheless, in accordance with His purpose of grace toward the elect, God decreed to send Jesus Christ His Son into the world, who should make a full, and perfect satisfaction to divine justice, for all their sins, that they might thereby be brought into a state of reconciliation with Him. And in order that these persons, thus redeemed by His Son Jesus Christ, might be effectually made the subjects of faith and repentance, He would, by a powerful and effectual calling, which it would be impossible for them to resist, so operate on their minds, as necessarily to produce in them genuine faith and conversion; which mighty power, in its continued and irresistible operations, would preserve them to the end, so that they could not again fall into a state of sin, which is inconsistent with the genuine faith, and the enjoyment of salvation: or, in the event of falling, yet they should not be left to continue therein to the end of life; but, through the powerful influence of divine grace, should be recalled to repentance before death, and consequently be brought to partake of eternal salvation. On the other hand, he denied that God had sent his Son into the world for the reprobate, or indeed, that he ever intended to afford them any assistance, by which they should become the subjects of repentance and conversion. From hence it followed, that



being left in their depravity, and without the means of salvation, and that to the end of life, they must inevitably die in their sins, and suffer eternal damnation. Such were the sentiments of Gomarus, who, it will be seen, contemplated the predestination of God, as being antecedent to the fall of man, and whose opinions, when duly considered, will be found to be more harsh and repugnant, than the sentiments of those who, on the contrary, viewed this predestination as taking place subsequently to the fall,—a doctrine, which was afterwards admitted, and adopted by the synod of Dort.

The sentiments of Arminius are thus expressed :—That God, foreseeing the apostacy of the human race, out of His abundant mercy and loving-kindness, decreed the appointment of a universal remedy, that should be adequate to the restoration of all men, by the removal of that liability to destruction, to which they had become awfully subject through sin. This restoration was to be effected by the mediation of Jesus Christ His Son, whom He appointed to be delivered up to death, as a propitiation for the sins of all mankind; and upon this propitiation, as a basis of reconciliation, He resolved to enter into a covenant with the whole of the human family, by which He decreed, that all those who should believe in His Son, and embrace the conditions of this covenant, should receive the forgiveness of all their sins. And for the purpose of enabling them to submit to its terms, and participate its blessings, He determined and commanded, that it should not only be announced, by His messengers and servants, to all men in general, but also that its promulgation should be accompanied by, and ratified with, that efficacious grace, by which, all those, to whom it should be published, might be able to embrace and receive it. Nevertheless this grace was not to act upon them, with such a mighty and irresistible power, as to preclude the possibility of its being opposed; but on the contrary, should leave them free agents, to resist its influence, which, under the dictate of depravity, is not only done, but in too many fearful

instances, is awfully and obstinately persisted in. So that although the existence of faith and obedience in man must be traced up to the grace of God, powerfully operating on his mind, yet his unbelief and continued disobedience, are from himself, an awful evidence of which is seen in his slighting and neglecting this grace. And whilst its operation is thus necessary to the production of faith and obedience, so its influence is amply sufficient to enable those, who are its subjects, so to profit by it, as to abide in a state of salvation, even to the end. But whether they could finally fall from a state of faith, was a point, on which he felt himself unable fully and positively to decide, to the satisfaction of his own mind. He asserted therefore, that the decree of divine predestination, especially related to, and consisted in the purpose of God, determining that all those, to whom the blessing of this grace was offered, should in consequence of believingly receiving it, and continuing therein to the end, be saved, while, on the contrary, those who rejected it, and continued in unbelief, should be damned.

“Such,” says Mr Calder, in his life of Episcopius, “were the sentiments of Arminius, of which Gomarus, at a subsequent period, when the former gave a more extended statement of them before the states general, declared in that assembly, that with such opinions he should be afraid to appear in the presence of God. This declaration was made with a violence of temper, so completely opposed to the gentle manner in which Arminius had stated them, that many of the members of that distinguished body asserted, that ‘they would rather die with the charity of Arminius, than the faith of Gomarus.’”

After Arminius had entered on the duties of his office, as divinity professor, he avoided, as far as he could consistently with peace of conscience, the introduction of his sentiments amongst the students, in order that he might not give offence to Gomarus. By this mode of acting, in connexion with his prudence and mild deportment, he succeeded, for a time, in securing the favour and friend-

ship of his colleague. But the difference of opinion which he entertained from his colleague on the subject of predestination, stood connected with so many other doctrinal points, that, in exhibiting the latter to his pupils, there was an obvious dissimilarity between his mode, and that of Gomarus, in presenting them. Besides, here, as at Amsterdam, Arminius became exceedingly popular, and his fame attracted the attention of many learned persons, who attended his lectures. Gomarus felt this to be a source of mortification, and he found it difficult to suppress his displeasure, even while he professed to treat him with the customary signs of friendship. These courtesies, however, soon ceased under the excitement of passion, and a rupture ensued between them, which divided the members and students of the college into two parties; the one adopting the views of Gomarus, and the other those of Arminius.

From this time the life of Arminius was a life of much mental suffering, for he deeply felt the evil speaking, lying, and slandering, which had been too often the characteristic of Calvinistic disputants. His own uncle was among the most violent of his adversaries. Deputies from the various congregations in Holland demanded a conference, that they might decide upon his opinions. He was assailed with rancour from the pulpit, and called a Pelagian. And at last a national synod was demanded, to the convocation of which, the statesgeneral gave their consent. But before it could be held, the heart of Arminius was broken, and he was seen to be rapidly sinking into the grave. The malevolent treatment he met with certainly hastened, if it did not cause, his death.

How true this is, his own complaints will show. When writing to his friend, Dr Sebastian Egbert, one of the principal magistrates of Amsterdam, he says, in relation to this subject,—“I have to grapple with the worst of all the furies, the first-born vice of the devil, from which he also derives his title; [DIABOLUS, *the accuser of the brethren!*] I have resolved to subdue it by patience. God



grant, that I may be sustained by the strength of His Spirit, and thus enabled to obtain a conquest ! There is nothing, according to their own confession, which certain zealots leave unattempted here and elsewhere, both in our native country and abroad, in Germany and France, that they may cast me down from my seat, [Professor's *Chair*,] and may silence me, who am an obscure individual. But their strenuous endeavours have hitherto been in vain : and the result has not been felicitous to themselves ; because, by their calumnies, they ennoble one whose chief desire it was to remain in a state of privacy, and who could not possibly have obtained celebrity for himself by his personal qualities. The main origin of this evil is in your city, where such circumstances are confidently related about me, as durst not even be whispered by any man in this city, where I am daily teaching in public and private, if that individual entertained a fear that his whispers would be afterwards disclosed to me. The conduct of men towards me, especially among your citizens, is of such a nature as to make them think, that they may invent falsehoods, detractions, and slanders against me, and all the while be committing no offence. A heretic let me be [accounted] ; yet I am a man, whom God has formed after his own image, and for whom Christ has shed His Blood. Let my enemies be silent, and cease from their clamorous harangues before the people in public, and from their secret whispers and private slanders, and the matter is instantly adjusted. I am acquainted with two remedies against calumny, and I employ both of them,—INNOCENCE and PATIENCE ! May the Lord be pleased to bestow the latter upon me, since he has hitherto granted me the enjoyment of the former.”

Nothing indeed could surpass the bitterness of the Calvinists at the time, towards a man who, as they frequently admitted, differed from them in no fundamental point except that of predestination. In the course of his illness he lost the use of one of his eyes, and of an arm ; at this circumstance the Calvinists rejoiced ; and to these afflictions

some of them exultingly applied the awful denunciations in the book Zechariah, "Their eyes shall consume away in their holes;" (xiv. 12.) and from the same prophet, "Woe to the idle shepherd that leaveth the flock! the sword shall be upon his arm and his right eye; his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be darkened." (xi. 17.)

Although in his last illness Arminius was subject to severe pain, and was deprived of sleep, he nevertheless generally retained the vigour and tranquility of his mind. He repeated continually and emphatically that passage in St Paul: "Now the God of peace, which brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the Blood of the everlasting Covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and for ever, Amen." When his thoughts wandered, they wandered to that which was preying on his mind, and he was heard to say, "O me, O my mother, why did you bear me, a man at enmity with all the world? I have neither put out to usury nor taken in upon usury from any one, and yet every one curseth me!" Although the wrongs done him by his enemies thus rendered his feelings morbid, he was revered and beloved by many great and good men, who sincerely deplored his loss, when, on the 19th of October, 1609, he went to that place, where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

It was not till after the death of Arminius, that the controversy arising from his tenets became general. Although a catholic Christian cannot undertake the defence of Arminius, he may fairly say that he was as nearly right as Calvin was; that his system is less abhorrent to the moral feelings of human nature; and that he and his followers have always exhibited a more Christian temper than his opponents.

Arminius was certainly of some service in his efforts

to assert God's essential justice and righteousness, in opposition to those Calvinistic views of grace, which had so much obscured and lost sight of these attributes. He and his followers also did well in asserting the doctrine of universal redemption, which all strict Calvinists, from the founder of the sect down to Toplady, have denied.

But these services were much impaired by some important errors, which he introduced himself, or in which he consented with Calvin.

(1) Calvin had assailed the prayer which the Church in the litany addresses to the Blessed Trinity. "*Cette priere,*" he said, "*reçue communément, Sainte Trinité, un seul Dieu, aye pitié de nous, ne me plait point, et sent de tout barbarie.*"—Epist. ad Polon. The Socinians naturally took up these words as favourable to their miserable error. Arminius contended that the title of *ἀυτοθεός*, or "very God," did not properly belong to the second person of the the Blessed Trinity. And Curcellæus and other followers of his were unwilling to use the term Trinity at all, making the same pretence as is used by the Socinians, that the word itself is not in Scripture; and asserting the great doctrine, of being guided by Scripture and Scripture only.

(2) It seems doubtful whether Arminius believed any such doctrine as personal election. Those who deny this in some sense, also deny the divine fore-knowledge, and are thus in danger of another vital error of the Socinians. The doctrine of Scripture and of the ancient church, is faithfully represented in the 17th article of the church of England. Hence archbishop Tillotson, though in general he closely followed the Arminian writers, seems to have excepted this point.—(See his Serm. cxxx.)

The original difference between the Arminians and the Calvinists was entirely confined to the *five points*, relative to the doctrines of predestination and grace; and it was the doctrine of the former, concerning these points alone, that occasioned their condemnation in the synod of Dort.

The distinguishing tenets of the Arminians may therefore be said to consist chiefly in the different light in



which they view the subjects of those points, or in the different explanation which they give to them ; and are comprised in the five following articles, relating to predestination, universal redemption, the corruption of human nature, conversion, and perseverance.

1 With respect to the first, they maintained, “That God, from all eternity, determined to bestow salvation on those who, as He foresaw, would persevere unto the end in their faith in Jesus Christ ; and to inflict everlasting punishment on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist, to the end of life, His Divine assistance : so that election was conditional ; and reprobation, in like manner, the result of foreseen infidelity and persevering wickedness.”

2. On the second point, they taught, “That Jesus Christ, by His sufferings and death, made an atonement for the sins of mankind in general, and of every individual in particular ; that, however, none but those who believe in Him, can be partakers of that Divine benefit.”

3. On the third article they held, “That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of free will ; since man, in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable either of thinking or doing any good thing ; and that, therefore, it is necessary to his conversion and salvation, that he be regenerated and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ.”

4. On the fourth they believed, “That this Divine grace, or energy of the Holy Ghost, begins, advances, and perfects every thing that can be called *good* in man ; and that, consequently, all good works are to be attributed to God alone ;—that, nevertheless, this grace, which is offered to all, does not force men to act against their inclinations, but may be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.”

5. And on the fifth, “That God gives to the truly faithful, who are regenerated by His grace, the means of

preserving themselves in this state ;”—and though the first Arminians entertained some doubt with respect to the closing part of this article, their followers uniformly maintain, “That the regenerate may lose true justifying faith—fall from a state of grace, and die in their sins.”

The works of Arminius are not very numerous. They have been published, with Brandt’s life of the author, by James Nichols.—Besides Brandt’s Life, see Petri Bertii *Oratio in Obitum D. Jacobi Arminii. Mosheim. Calder’s Memoirs of Episcopius.*

ARNAULD, ANTOINE, who on the death of the abbé de St Cyran, became the head and champion of the French Jansenists, by whom he was styled “le grand,” was born at Paris, in the year 1612. His father was one of the most eloquent advocates France ever produced, and Antoine was the youngest of twenty children. He was educated in the college of Calvi, and afterwards studied theology in the college of Lisieux. Here he had for his preceptor, Lescot, the confessor of cardinal Richelieu, who became his enemy, on discovering that his pupil had imbibed Augustinian notions on the doctrines of grace. Arnauld first betrayed his inclination to the system of St Augustine in his *Acte de Tentation*, which he held in 1636. He was ordained priest in 1641, and at the same time took, with high credit to himself, his doctor’s degree. It was now that the implacability of Lescot’s resentment was made manifest; the young doctor sought to become a fellow of the society of the Sorbonne, which was the college of the faculty of theology in the university of Paris, but he had neglected some matter of form, and thus an objection to his admission was started. The case was referred to cardinal Richelieu, who was visitor of the Sorbonne, and although all the doctors, except two, had voted for a relaxation of the rule in Arnauld’s favor, the cardinal, at the instigation of Lescot, refused his consent. Thus early did Arnauld incur the wrath of the jesuits and those

who favored them. It was not till the year 1643 that he was admitted a member of the society of the Sorbonne.

It was while he was studying at the Sorbonne that Arnauld placed himself under the direction of St Cyran, and became a Jansenist—(see Jansenius.) With the Port-Royal his family had been already connected; his mother had been a nun there, for many years, and on her death-bed sent him an injunction that he should always sustain the truth, “even should a thousand lives be perilled thereby:” his sister was the *mère* Angelique: among the recluses who dwelt in the solitudes of Port Royal des Champs were his brother and his nephew. To this retreat Arnauld himself had repaired for fasting, meditation, and prayer, on several occasions, especially for forty days before his ordination, and before his first administration of the Holy Eucharist.

Until 1643, Arnauld lived in great retirement, and in the energetic performance of his religious duties. He had been appointed to a canonry at Verdun in 1639, but this he resigned, in 1642, that he might give himself up to the care of his own soul; which was rendered the more necessary, because, before his intercourse with St Cyran took place, he had led a life of carelessness.

In the year 1643, he published his celebrated work, “*De la fréquente Communion*,” which was immediately attacked by the Jesuits, against whom it was levelled: it was indeed directly written in condemnation of a Jesuit, who had ventured to assert that “the more we are devoid of grace, the more earnestly ought we to approach the Lord in the Holy Eucharist.” Arnauld maintained, on the contrary, that it is necessary to be truly penitent, and to have a converted heart, before we can with profit draw nigh to God in that Holy Sacrament. The doctrine of the Jesuits, that little or no preparation was necessary to receive the sacraments, by which the doctrine of the *opus operatum* is pushed to a most vicious and demoralizing extreme, met with the unintermitting opposition of the



Jansenists ; and the opposition was so far successful, that it produced a great reform in the mode of administering the sacraments in the Gallican Church, and has led the Jesuits themselves, without acknowledging it, to modify their opinions on the subject.

Among the most violent assailants of Arnauld and his books was the jesuit Nouet ; but Nouet suffered himself to be carried too far by his zeal in denouncing the work. The work had received the avowed approbation of sixteen prelates, besides many doctors of the Sorbonne ; and these personages, perceiving themselves implicated, compelled Nouet and four other Jesuits to ask pardon on their knees, and sign a recantation. This violent opposition had, of course, the usual effect, that of causing the book itself to be widely circulated and generally read. Arnauld replied to his opponents, among whom was the celebrated Petavius, in a treatise entitled “*La Tradition de l’Eglise ;*” a catena patrum with a long preface.

But the Jesuits were more than a match for him. In his work “*De la fréquente communion,*” they found a sentence in which it was stated that St Peter and St Paul were “two heads of the Church who only make one.” They obtained an order from the government to command Arnauld to go to Rome, there to defend this sentence before the inquisition. Arnauld, not trusting the tender mercies of the inquisition, thought it prudent to conceal himself, while the French clergy generally were indignant at this attempt to violate the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. It may here be remarked that the book itself was never censured at Rome, but merely the one offensive passage : a passage which was inserted in the manuscript by De Barcos, to whom Arnauld had submitted it for revision.

Arnauld remained in concealment for four years, the fact of his being obliged to conceal himself only giving the greater interest to his works, in the minds of his countrymen. In 1649 commenced the controversy on “the four propositions,” in which Arnauld bore an active part. The

posthumous work of Jansenius had been published in 1640, under the title of "Augustinus," being intended as a digest of the system of St Augustine, whose works Jansenius is said to have perused thirty times. In the year following it was condemned by pope Urban VIII. In the year 1649 the Sorbonne, on the motion of M. Cornét, doctor of the college of Navarre, condemned six propositions on the subject of grace. Their condemnation rather intimated than explicitly asserted, that they were contained in the "Augustinus." They were afterwards reduced to five propositions; and in 1650 they were denounced by eighty-five bishops of France to the pope, eleven Gallican prelates at the same time writing to him to dissuade him from pronouncing a judgment on the subject. The pope, however, in 1653, condemned four of the propositions as heretical, and the fifth as false, rash, and scandalous; the proposition was this: "it is semi-pelagianism to say that Jesus Christ died or has shed his blood for all men without exception:" the papal document declared that this was also heretical, if it were understood to mean that Jesus Christ died for the salvation of the predestinated only. The bull of Innocent X. was accepted by the Gallican church, and registered by the parliament of Paris. This was, of course, a triumph over the Jansenists; but they made a distinction: they admitted that the five propositions were justly condemned, but they maintained that the bull had not declared, and consequently did not require the faithful to believe that the "Augustinus" contained the five propositions in the sense in which they were condemned. The former they termed matter of right, the latter matter of fact. The pope was thus obliged, in 1654, to issue a bull, declaring "that in the five propositions he had condemned the doctrine of Jansenius, as contained in his book, entitled Augustinus." An assembly of the clergy of France accepted the bull, and directed its publication, with a formulary of acceptance subjoined, to which the prelates were requested to procure, within a month, the subscription of their clergy. And in aid of these

ecclesiastical exertions Louis XIV. published an edict, by which he enjoined all the prelates in his kingdom to sign the edict themselves, and to cause it to be signed by all ecclesiastics. The formulary was objected to as emanating from an assembly which had no canonical right to prescribe formularies of doctrine that should bind the whole national clergy of France: it was therefore embodied in a bull from Rome. But still the Jansenists were able to make a distinction; they asserted, that neither the existence of a proposition in a particular book, nor the meaning of a particular proposition contained in a particular book, could be said with propriety, to be a revealed fact: hence they inferred that however the faithful might be required to believe, with divine faith, the erroneousness of the five propositions, nothing beyond respectful deference, at the most, could be required to a decree of the Church, on the existence of a particular proposition in a work, or on the real meaning of a particular proposition, extracted from a work. On this ground, they were willing to express an explicit and unequivocal censure of the doctrine of the five propositions in the sense attributed to them by the bulls; but none could promise more than a respectful silence on the attribution of that doctrine to the work.

This short statement has been made to enable the reader to understand the nature of the controversy which now divided the church of France into two parties, the Jesuits and the Jansenists. At the head of the latter was Arnauld; and never perhaps was there a controversy conducted with more talent and skill on both sides.

In 1655 Arnauld published a work which led to his expulsion from the Sorbonne. The duke of Liancourt's grand-daughter was receiving education at Port-Royal, in 1655; and the duke was refused absolution, after confession to a priest of St Sulpice, unless he would remove his daughter, and break off his connexion with the Jansenists. Arnauld, on this, wrote two letters on behalf of the duke from Port-Royal-des-Champs; the second of them containing two passages, one on grace, the other denying that the



celebrated five propositions of Jansenius were to be found in his works, which were selected for censure by the Sorbonne. Arnauld was excluded by this sentence from the theological faculty, notwithstanding his protests against the injustice and irregularity of their proceedings; in which seventy-two doctors and many bachelors were included, besides himself, for refusing to concur in the propriety of his condemnation, which was moreover proposed as a test to future candidates.

The proceedings against Arnauld were most unjust, as one of the members of the Sorbonne admitted, who, when pressed to shew wherein the difference existed between the expressions of Arnauld and similar expressions produced from the Fathers, was heard to say, "this proposition would be orthodox in any other man's mouth; it is only in M. Arnauld that the Sorbonne has condemned it." But if the doctors, and others of the university of Paris, *did* give a factious vote, if they were under the influence of strong party bias, and were determined beforehand to condemn the party over whom they were to sit as judges, they certainly saved appearances: there was on their part an *appearance* of patient investigation, for their sittings lasted for two months.

The proceedings of the doctors of the Sorbonne excited such general interest, and caused so much excitement in Paris, during the session, that cardinal Mazarin observed to a friend, that it was most important to have the business settled speedily, since the women, though they knew no more of the subject than he did himself, did nothing but talk about it. It was not a little owing to the appearance of another great writer on the side of the Jansenists, that this extreme interest was excited. Paschal now made his appearance before the public, in the first of "The provincial letters," which he wrote at the urgent request of Arnauld. In the third of these letters the reader will find the case of Arnauld well argued; he will also have our authority for saying that, although in the university of Paris, some regard to decency was observed, still there was

the most glaring injustice: Arnauld being in fact condemned, not because any passage in his works could be discovered really opposed to the doctrine of the Gallican church, but because he was a Jansenist.

For the next twenty years Arnauld lived in retirement, employing his time in the composition of numerous works on a variety of subjects. In the mean time the controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists continued without intermission. It has been already mentioned, that the royal proclamation, in 1665, imposed upon all the prelates, in the dominions of the king of France, the obligation of signing the formulary within six months of its receipt. Such an exercise of temporal power, in the way of intimidation, was generally displeasing to the Gallican hierarchy, and by four prelates, all of them distinguished for their piety, and the exemplary discharge of their pastoral duty, it was resisted. They signed the formulary, but with an express distinction between right and fact; and in the pastoral letters to their flocks, all explicitly asserted, that although the Church was infallible, when she pronounced a proposition to be heretical; she was still liable to error, when she pronounced, that the sense in which she understood the proposition was either the sense of the author, or the real sense of the proposition. Neither of these facts having been revealed to the Church, they concluded that her opinion on them was not infallible. They disclaimed, therefore, all right of commanding their flocks to believe, with divine faith, what the formulary might be supposed to intimate on either of these facts. All they enjoined was respectful silence, as a matter of discipline. The king was indignant at the sanction thus given to the Jansenist interpretation of the formulary, and concerted with Rome the proper means of proceeding with effect against the prelates. But the four prelates found supporters among prelates and doctors of the university of Paris, together with princes of the blood, and a numerous proportion of the second order of clergy. The archbishop of Sens, and eighteen other

prelates, in 1667, addressed a letter to the pope in their favor. The feeling was so strong that government was alarmed, and the king himself at length became willing to listen to a proposal for an amicable settlement of the disputes. The nuncio of Clement the ninth, who had come to sit in judgment, with certain bishops of the church of France, on the refractory prelates, entered readily into the views of the French ministry. It was agreed by the nuncio, and the nine prelates associated with him, that the four prelates should suffer no canonical disgrace; that they should sign a new subscription of the formulary, and that a *procès verbal* of it should be drawn up, which should remain in the records of their courts. It was allowed that they should declare by it, that in respect to the matter of fact, the Church required no more than a submission of silence and respect. They were to cause the clergy to sign the formulary at the end of this declaration; and then write a submissive and respectful letter to the pope. Louis XIV. without expressing any opinion of his own on these terms, declared his acquiescence in them, if they should be approved by his holiness. The pope's approbation was obtained, and thus was carried into effect what is called by French writers "The peace of Clement IX," and "The peace of the Church." Arnauld was now presented by the archbishop of Sens to the nuncio, and afterwards to the king, and by both he was graciously received.

From this time, to 1679, Arnauld directed his controversial powers chiefly against the Calvinists, being anxious to shew that there was not that affinity between the principles of the Jansenists and the Calvinists which the Jesuits would represent. In conjunction with Nicole he published "*La Perpétuité de la Foi*," and other works, in which he accuses the Calvinists of holding the doctrine that righteousness can never be lost, that is, the indefectibility of grace, so that the most heinous crimes do not prevent the faithful, who commit them, from remaining the children of God; a doctrine which he shews is subversive of all piety.

But though thus engaged, he could not resist the temp-



tation of renewing hostilities with his old enemies, the Jesuits—an inclination said to have been fostered by Harlay, archbishop of Paris, who bore no good will to them; and in 1679 Arnauld was obliged to quit France, after living for some time in concealment and disguise, for which his impetuous and indiscreet temper little fitted him, under the protection of the duchess of Longueville. He now lived in obscurity at Brussels, where he continued to indulge his polemical powers; and, after a life of constant excitement and exertion, his death in 1694 deprived the Jansenists of their most powerful supporter, and the Jesuits of their most dangerous opponent.

Arnauld was in private life distinguished by the simplicity and gentleness of his manners; and he bore his frequent exiles and misfortunes with great patience. But his mind was restless, and his temper impetuous, when involved in those important controversies, which occupied the greater part of his life. Nicole, his friend and companion, as earnest but less impetuous than himself, once confessed to him that he was tired of their constant agitation, and wanted rest. “Rest!” said Arnauld; “have we not eternity to rest in?”

The works of Arnauld are too numerous to be here detailed, the mere list of them occupies four folio columns in Moreri.—*Biog. Univ. Life, in the Lausanne edition of his works. Mosheim. Charles Butler's Hist. of the Church of France. Moreri.*

ARNAULD, HENRI, was the brother of Antoine Arnauld, and was born in Paris, in 1597. He was originally designed for the bar, but on receiving from the court the abbey of St Nicholas, he entered the ecclesiastical state: he was chiefly occupied as a politician in his early years, but, on his appointment to the bishopric of Angers, in 1649, he devoted himself to his sacred calling, and after his conversion became, like the rest of his family, a zealous Jansenist. He was one of the four bishops, mentioned in the preceding article, who refused to sign the “Formu-

lary." He was accustomed to take only five hours sleep, rising at two in the morning, that he might have time to cultivate his own soul by prayer and the reading of the Scriptures, without encroaching on what he considered due to his flock, and the duties of his episcopal office. He was regular in visiting the sick, and once every week he attended the hospital. When there was a scarcity of provisions at Angers, on one occasion, he sent ten thousand livres so secretly that the donation was attributed to another, and the real donor was only discovered by accident some time afterwards. His diocese he never left but once, and that was to reconcile the prince of Tarento to his father, the duke de la Tremouille. When Angers revolted in 1652, the queen-mother was about to take heavy vengeance upon it, but was prevented by this bishop; who, as he administered the sacrament to her, said: "Take, madam, the Body of Him who forgave His enemies when He was dying on the cross." He divided his time between prayer, reading, and his public duties. A friend saying to him that he ought to allow himself one day in the week for recreation; "that I will do with all my heart," he replied, "if you will name a day wherein I am not a bishop." He died in 1692. His "*Negotiations at Rome*" were published at Paris, in 5 vols. 12mo. in 1748—*Moreri. Biog. Univ.*

ARNDT, JOHN, was born in 1555, at Ballinstadt, in Anhalt, and was one of the most pious and devoted Lutheran ministers of his age. He first applied himself to the study of physic, but in an illness vowed to change his profession to that of divinity. In 1583 he was appointed minister of Badeborn, where he was persecuted by the Calvinistic party, on account of his attachment to the Lutheran forms. He then went to Quedlinberg, and afterwards removed to Brunswick: in all places he was distinguished for his zeal, his devotion to his duties, and what is rare in a Lutheran, for his asceticism. But his success as a preacher raised him a host of enemies among

his brethren, and they so persecuted him that he left Brunswick and retired to Isleb. When he was fifty years of age he published the first book of his work "on True Christianity," a work which has been translated into almost every language. In the year 1611 he was appointed by Ernest, duke of Brunswick, superintendent of Zell, where he wrote several works, and completed his "True Christianity." He died in 1621, having foretold his approaching death to his wife. His picture is preserved in the church of Zell.

Of Arndt, Moreri says, that he maintained some doctrines which involved him in a dispute with those of his communion: he was of opinion that the irregularity of manners and immorality which prevailed among protestants, was occasioned by their rejection of good works, and by their contenting themselves with a barren faith, as if it was sufficient for salvation to believe in Jesus Christ, and to apply His merits to ourselves by faith; the doctrine, in fact, of justification by the *feelings*, though called erroneously the doctrine of justification by faith. He, on the contrary, taught that true faith necessarily exerts itself in charity; that a salutary sorrow preceeds it; that it is followed by a perfect renewal of the mind; and that a sanctifying faith infallibly produces good works. His adversaries accused him of fanaticism and enthusiasm: they endeavoured to represent him as symbolizing in his opinions with the followers of Weigelius and the Rosecrusian philosophers; and they imputed to him many of the errors and absurdities of those visionaries, because in some subjects he expressed himself in a manner not very different from them, and because he preferred the method of the mystical divines to that of the scholastics. He had studied particularly the works of Thomas a Kempis, St Bernard, and other catholic writers; nor did he neglect those of Weigelius, of which he has transcribed whole chapters into his own writings. Several considerable persons espoused his cause; but among his enemies, Lucas Osiander, a divine of Tubing, distinguished himself in the



most particular manner: he published against our author, in the year 1624, a work entitled *Judicium theologorum*, i. e. the Judgment of the Divines.

The most famous work of Arndt, is his treatise of true Christianity, in high Dutch, before alluded to. The first book of it was printed separately in 1605, at Jena, by Stegman: he published the three others in 1608.

The first book is called the Book of Scripture: he endeavours in it to shew the way of the inward and spiritual life, and that Adam ought to die every day more and more in the heart of a Christian, and Christ to gain the ascendant there.

The second is called the Book of Life: he proposes in it to direct the Christian to a greater degree of perfection, to give him a relish for sufferings, to encourage him to resist his enemies after the example of his Saviour.

The third is entitled the Book of Conscience: in this he recalls the Christian within himself, and discovers to him the kingdom of God seated in the midst of his own heart.

The last book is entitled the Book of Nature: the author proves here, that all the creatures lead men to the knowledge of their Creator.

This work was translated into many different languages. The Latin translation was published at Lunenburg, in 1625; Frankfort, in 1628; and Leipsic, in 1704. It was printed in low Dutch, in 1642, and 1647: and translated into the Danish and Bohemian tongues. The first book was published in English in 1646. In the year 1708, the Latin translation was reprinted at London. An English translation of it was published at London, in 1712, in octavo: this edition was dedicated to queen Anne by M. Boehm. It was also translated into French by M. Samuel Basnage de Beauval.—*Moreri*.

ARNOBIUS, AFER, or the elder, was born in the latter part of the third century, at Sicca, a town of Numidia. St Jerome says of him, "Arnobius, a rhetorician, is famous in Africa, who, while he taught the youth rhetoric

at Sicca, and was yet a heathen, was admonished in his dreams to embrace Christianity. But when he applied to the bishop of the place for baptism, he rejected him, because he had been wont to oppose the Christian doctrine: whereupon he composed an excellent work against his old religion, and thus at length, by these hostages of his piety, he obtained the seal of the covenant." The book was satisfactory; not on account of his exposition of Christian doctrine, with which he could only have been imperfectly acquainted, but on account of its proving his sincerity, and committing himself to the assertion of a better faith, while he renounced the errors of paganism. As an attack upon paganism, and a defence of the outworks of Christianity. His work entitled, "*Disputationes contra Gentes*," is still useful. It is analysed by Dupin, but it is scarcely necessary to transcribe his analysis, as the real value of the work consists in the facts and statements incidentally adduced by the author, who quotes, for the purpose of giving them a philosophical explanation, many analogies which are not now to be found in any other writer. The first edition of his work was published in 1543, at Rome, the Octavius of Minucius Felix, being appended to it,—*Dupin. Cave. Lardner.*

ARNOLD, a native of Brescia, in the 12th century, although a monk, comes rather under the description of a demagogue than a theologian. He was a pupil of Abelard, and holding some of the heretical opinions of his master, was censured by St Bernard, who called him a flagrant schismatic. Baronius designated him the "patriarch of political heretics;" an order of persons who have multiplied upon earth, who make religion their pretext and their own political interests their end. When Arnold had completed his education at Paris he returned to Italy; where he attacked the clergy, declaring it to be a deadly sin in any clergyman to hold a temporal estate, and asserting that they ought to be supported by alms. The various abuses of the Church calling out, as St Bernard admits, for

a reformation, afforded Arnold a copious theme for popular declamation, and he had many followers. He and his sectaries were, at length, condemned by pope Innocent II and Arnold retired to Switzerland; but he returned from thence into Italy on the death of the pope, and excited such commotions against the papal authority that Adrian IV was obliged to lay the city under an interdict, till the Arnoldists were banished. Arnold fled into Tuscany, where, at first, he was treated as a prophet; but was apprehended, and finally executed at Rome, in the year 1155. Although nothing can justify the excesses of Arnold, yet his contemporaries, while justly condemning him, have asserted that his moral conduct in other respects was unexceptionable. Some modern writers, who regard insubordination and heresy in things ecclesiastical, and treason against the state, as indications of a protestant spirit, have ranked Arnold among our "protestant forefathers." But wiser protestants will say of their cause, *non eget defensoribus istis.*—*Moreri.*

ARNOUL, bishop of Lisieux, in the 12th century. He zealously defended Thomas á Becket, and travelled to England to effect a reconciliation between that prelate and the king, but being unsuccessful, he retired to a monastery on his return, and died in 1182. His letters relating to the history of his times, were printed at Paris in 1585, octavo.—*Moreri.*

ARNULF, of Metz, was born about the year 582, and was an ancestor of Charlemagne. In early life he was engaged in the politics of the day, and was distinguished for prudence in the council, and for valour in the field. He had two sons by his wife, Dodo, a lady of noble birth, from the youngest of whom the Carlovingian kings of France descended. In the prime of manhood, he determined to retire from the world, and while his wife went into a nunnery, Arnulf himself was ordained priest. He was con-



secrated archbishop of Metz about the year 611: but he still continued to be the chief counsellor of king Clotaire, and the spiritual adviser of the queen. He was also preceptor to their son Dagobert, and when the latter ascended the throne, the chief administration of affairs was placed in the hands of Arnulf; but soon after, notwithstanding the opposition of the king, he carried into execution his long cherished design of retiring to a monastery; and, having resigned his bishopric, he shut himself up in a religious house near Remeremont, where he laboured to advance in the path of Christian perfection. He died on the 16th of August, 640; and his name is inserted in the Roman calendar.—*Acta Sanctorum. Alban Butler.*

ARNULF, or ERNULF, of Rochester. Of this prelate we shall give an account in the words of Godwin: “ Arnulf was a Frenchman, brought up a while under Lanfranc, at Becca, and afterwards became a monk at Beauveys. Lanfranc, understanding that he lived very malcontent at Beauveys, (upon what occasion I find not) and knowing him to be a man of excellent good parts, advised him to come to him into England. A while after his coming over, he lived a private monk in Canterbury, afterwards became prior there, then was preferred to the abbotship of Peterborough, and lastly, had the bishopric of Rochester given him by his predecessor, the archbishop of Canterbury, December 26th, 1115. In all these places he so bestirred himself, as he left divers notable monuments of his industrious liberality. The upper end of Christchurch in Canterbury, built by Lanfranc, being fallen down, he procured to be built again most magnificently, paving it with marble, glazing and beautifying it with sundry kind of stately ornaments. At Peterborough he increased the number of his monks, and built infinitely. A little before his coming away, that, and all other edifices of the monastery were consumed by casual fire. Now, though the diligence and long time of Gundulphus, his

predecessor, left nothing very needful for him to perform at Rochester, yet would he never be idle, but still was either mending and repairing of old, or setting up some new building. He died in the month of March, 1124, being eighty-four years of age. I find it reported, that he wrote a history of the church of Rochester, which (if it be not perished) I wish it might be my hap to see."

Several of bishop Arnulf's works are extant; and there is one of peculiar interest, "An epistle containing some answers to divers questions of Lambret, abbot of Munster, especially concerning the Body and Blood of our Lord," in which we find that the custom of the church of England was at that time to administer the bread in that Holy Sacrament dipped in the wine.

ARNWAY, JOHN, was born in 1601, in Shropshire, where he inherited a considerable estate. In 1618 he became a commoner of St Edmunds hall, Oxford, where he graduated. Receiving holy orders, he obtained the rectories of Hodnet and Ightfield, in his native county, where he remained till the breaking out of the civil war. His charities were unbounded; he annually clothed twelve poor people according to their station, and every Sunday he entertained as many at his table, "*not only plentifully, but with intimacy and respect.*" He knew that the poor require sympathy for their mental, as well as relief for their corporeal sufferings, and he treated them, not as a condescending patron, but as an elder brother. When the civil war broke out, he raised and clothed eight troopers for the royal army. The consequence was, that the rebels plundered his property, and offered him the most cruel insults. In 1640 he repaired to the king at Oxford, to offer to his royal master all he had left,—his personal service,—and while there, in 1642, he took his doctor's degree. He was also made archdeacon of Coventry. His activity in the cause of his king and country, so exasperated the rebels against him, that he was subjected to sequestration and imprisonment: but after the king's murder, he

obtained his liberty and retired to Holland. Speaking of himself, he says, "He quitted a large fortune, of which he did not repent in his extremest penury, to serve that good prince, King Charles I, and was as ready to hazard himself to enthrone his son." In another place he writes thus, "Though I was urged with drawn swords and bloody halberts, to serve the idol (meaning the covenant) I yet infinitely more bless God for the deliverance of my soul from the idolatry thereof, than of my body from the peril of imprisonment, navigation, sickness, and the desert wherein I sojourn; the three first of which I escaped very narrowly. They offered me restitution of £400 per annum, sweetened with the commendation of my abilities, to bow to it, in swallowing the oath and covenant; but Christ's rejection of *hæc omnia dabo*, teaching me not to sell myself to work wickedness, but to abhor presentations upon simonaical contracts, I replied, I had rather cast my stuff and tackling all overboard, to save my passenger and pinnace (soul and body,) than sink my passenger and pinnace to save my stuff and tackling." And again, "Not to speak of their other hard usage, granting me not a Bible of my library to comfort me, not a sheaf of my means to nourish me, not a suit of my clothes to cover me, nor use of common air to refresh me; but banishing me the country because I would not be perjured with them, they haled me out of prison in the dead of the night, to tax me of papistry, the undeserved livery they gave to all true subjects and good Christians, who, had their minds been unsettled in religion, haply might have thought the furthest remove from them, the nearest approach to God; and so have been sooner turned by their oppression, than by the arguments of Bellarmine."

Such were the tender mercies of the dissenters when they obtained power in this country; this is not, however, said to reproach them, but to shew how unjust was the cry of hard usage which they raised, when at the restoration they were required either to conform to the Church, or to resign the livings which they had thus wrested from churchmen.



Arnway resided chiefly at the Hague, when driven from his country, where he published "The Tablet; or the moderation of Charles I. the martyr;" in which he vindicates our royal martyr from the aspersions of Milton. He also published a work called "An alarm to the subjects of England." His necessities compelled this excellent confessor of the church of England to leave the Hague and go to Virginia, there to exercise his priestly office among our expatriated countrymen. In Virginia he died, in 1653.—*Wood. Biog. Brit.*

ARROWSMITH, JOHN, was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1602. He was admitted of St John's college, Cambridge, in 1616, and took his degrees in arts there, but in 1623 he became fellow of Catherine-hall. He afterwards settled at Lynn in Norfolk, and in the great rebellion was chosen one of the assembly of divines at Westminster. When Dr Beale was ejected by the dissenters from the mastership of St John's college, Mr Arrowsmith was put into his place, and in 1649, took his doctor's degree. About this time he was removed to the mastership of Trinity college. He died in 1659. His works, which are rigidly calvinistic, are, 1. *Tactica Sacra*, 4to. 2. *A Claim of Principles*, 4to. 3. *Sermons on public occasions*. 4. *Armillæ Catechetica*, 4to.—*Neale's history of Puritans*.

ARSENIUS, SAINT, was born at Rome, of a patrician family, about the year 354, and was appointed by the emperor Theodosius, preceptor to his son Arcadius. On his arrival at Constantinople, he was treated with the greatest respect by the emperor, and lived in luxury. Whether he had received holy orders at this time is doubtful. The emperor happening one day to go into the room where Arsenius was instructing Arcadius, he found his son seated and the preceptor standing; he reproached the latter for not supporting properly the dignity of his employment: Arsenius politely excused himself, alleging that having the honour to speak to an emperor (for Arcadius

had been associated to the empire at eight years of age) he could not, with good manners, remain seated in his presence: but Theodosius, not being satisfied with this answer, took from his son the imperial ornaments, made Arsenius sit in his place, and ordered Arcadius for the future to receive his lessons standing and uncovered. Arcadius, however, profited but little by his tutor's instructions, for some time after he formed a design of dispatching Arsenius. The officer, to whom Arcadius had applied for this purpose, divulged the affair to Arsenius, who retired to the deserts of Sceté, where he passed many years in the exercises of the most strict and fervent devotion. It is said by some writers, that he had determined, long before this, to retire from the world; but whatever was the first motive, it is certain that in the year 394, he became a monk, and resisted all attempts to recall him to the world. Arsenius, after his retirement only distinguished himself among the anchorets, by his greater humility and fervour.

Arsenius never visited his brethren, contenting himself with meeting them at spiritual conferences. The abbot Mark asked him one day, in the name of the hermits, why he so much shunned their conversation? The saint answered: 'God knoweth how dearly I love you all; but I find I cannot be both with God and with men at the same time; nor can I think of leaving God to converse with men.' This disposition, however, did not hinder him from giving short lessons of virtue to his brethren, and several of his apothegms are recorded among those of the ancient fathers. He said often: 'I have always something to repent of after having conversed with men; but have never been sorry for having been silent.' He had frequently in his mouth those words which St Euthymius and St Bernard used also to repeat to themselves, to renew their fervour in the discharge of the obligations of their profession: 'Arsenius, why hast thou forsaken the world, and wherefore art thou come hither?' Being asked one day why he, being so well versed in the sciences, sought

the instruction and advice of a certain monk, who was an utter stranger to all human literature? he replied: 'I am not unacquainted with the learning of the Greeks and Romans; but I have not yet learned the alphabet of the science of the saints, whereof this seemingly ignorant person is master.'

Though Arsenius was excellently versed in sacred learning, and in the maxims and practice of perfect Christian virtue, he never would discourse on any point of Scripture, and chose rather to hear than to instruct or speak, making it the first part of his study to divest his mind of all secret opinion of himself, or confidence in his own abilities or learning. And this he justly called the foundation of humility and all Christian virtue. Evagrius of Pontus, who had distinguished himself at Constantinople by his learning, and had retired to Jerusalem, and thence into the deserts of Nitria, 385, expressed his surprise to the saint, that many learned men made no progress in virtue, whilst many Egyptians, who knew not the very letters of the alphabet, arrived at a high degree of sublime contemplation. To whom Arsenius made this answer: 'We make no progress in virtue, because we dwell in that exterior learning which puffs up the mind; but these illiterate Egyptians have a true sense of their own weakness, blindness, and insufficiency; by which they are qualified to labour successfully in the pursuit of virtue.' Arsenius used often to cry out to God with tears, in the most profound sentiment of humility: 'O Lord, forsake me not, I have done nothing that can be acceptable in Thy sight; but for the sake of Thy infinite mercy, enable and assist me that I may now begin to serve Thee faithfully.'

Arsenius remained for forty years at Sceté, when an irruption of the barbarians compelled him to abandon his retreat, and retire to Troë in Egypt, near Memphis, where he spent the next ten years of his life. He then lived three years at Canopus, near Alexandria, but returned again to Troë, where he died two years after.



When his end was drawing near, he said to his disciples: ‘One only thing I beg of your charity, that when I am dead I may be remembered in the holy sacrifice; if in my life I have done any thing that is accepted by God, through His mercy, that I shall now find again.’ They were much grieved to hear him speak as if they were going soon to lose him. Upon which he said; ‘My hour is not yet come. I will acquaint you of it: but you shall answer it at the tribunal of Christ, if you suffer any thing belonging to me to be kept as a relic.’ They said with tears, (being solicitous for a funeral procession,) ‘what shall we do alone, father? for we know not how to bury the dead.’ The saint answered: ‘Tie a cord to my feet, and drag my carcase to the top of the mountain, and there leave it.’ His brethren, seeing him weep in his agony, said to him; ‘Father, why do you weep? are you, like others, afraid to die?’ The saint answered: ‘I am seized with great fear: nor has this dread ever forsaken me from the time I first came into these deserts.’ The saints all serve God in fear and trembling, in the constant remembrance of His judgment; but this is always accompanied with a sweet confidence in his infinite love and mercies. The Holy Ghost indeed so diversifies his gifts and graces, as to make these dispositions more sensible in some than in others. Notwithstanding this fear, St Arsenius expired in great peace, full of faith, and of that humble confidence which perfect charity inspires, about the year 449. He was ninety-five years old, of which he had spent fifty-five in the desert. Abbot Pemen, having seen him expire, said with tears, ‘Happy Arsenius! who hast wept for yourself so much here on earth! Those who weep not here, shall weep eternally hereafter.’—*Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta*. Gallandi’s *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Cave. Butler. Bayle.

ARSENIUS, bishop of Constantinople in the 13th century. His character belongs rather to general than ecclesiastical history. He excommunicated Michael Palæologus, for

taking the imperial crown from John Lascaris, the son of Theodore, for which the usurper banished the virtuous prelate to a small island, where he died.—*Dupin. Cave.*

ARSENIUS, archbishop of Malvasia, in the Morea. He submitted to the church of Rome, for which he was excommunicated by the Greek patriarch, and died at Venice in 1435. He wrote a collection of Greek apophthegms, and scholia on seven of Euripides' tragedies.—*Bayle.*

ARUNDEL, THOMAS, second son of Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, was born in 1353. At a very early age he was made archdeacon of Taunton, and at twenty-two he was consecrated bishop of Ely. This early advancement of a young nobleman to so important a station in the Church, shews how much our venerable establishment in the 14th century required a reformation. The enemies of the establishment in the last century, to say nothing of the present, were strong in their censure of our system, when they saw unfit men advanced to the episcopal bench, one because he had chanced to be the goodnatured tutor of a prime minister, another because he had been a political partizan, and a third because he happened to be kinsman to a lord-chancellor; but the abuses as now existing in our church, are as nothing compared with young Arundel's preferment in the 14th century. On the vacancy of the see of Ely, the king recommended one man to the chapter of that church; the chapter elected another; and the pope, ever anxious to interfere with our beloved church, recommended Thomas Arundel: but as it was his wish to establish a precedent, and that, without present opposition, he had already been well assured that in nominating him he was nominating one who would be acceptable to both parties. Arundel was elected without opposition, and soon after consecrated, though two years elapsed before he was enthroned. The youthful prelate was not wanting in liberality to his church; he became a benefactor to the diocese, and rebuilt the episcopal palace in Holborn.

That he was a man of great ability is proved by the fact that, in 1386, he became lord high chancellor of England, an office which he resigned in 1390, but resumed in 1391. In the meantime he had been translated, in 1388, to the archbishopric of York. At this time he acquired much odium with the Londoners, by availing himself of the opportunity occasioned by a dispute between them and the king, to remove the law courts to York. Several were the attempts made in the middle ages to convert our northern metropolis into the capital of the kingdom; but perhaps Arundel merely consulted his own convenience, although he was accused of a desire to help his neighbours of York, an accusation which shews that in the politician he did not entirely lose the pastoral feeling. He did not act without precedent, as eighty years before archbishop Corbridge had done the same thing; but the impolicy of the measure was soon perceived, and in a term or two the courts were brought back to Westminster.

In 1396 he was translated to the see of Canterbury, this being the first instance of a translation from the archbishopric of York to that of Canterbury. He soon after accompanied king Richard II. to France, and there celebrated the king's marriage with the French princess Isabella.

He was scarcely settled in his see before he was involved in a dispute with the university of Oxford, with reference to his right of visitation. At this time the heads of houses in the university were popishly inclined, and the archbishop maintained the liberties of the church of England against them. The following is an account of the controversy.

The canonists and civilians of Oxford, being uneasy at some statutes made to the disadvantage of their profession, preferred a complaint against the university to the convocation then sitting at London. Their delegate for this business was Michael Sergeaux, doctor of laws, who set forth, that the university of Oxford had procured a bull to exempt themselves from the jurisdiction both of their



diocesan and metropolitan: that this bull was rather a disservice than an advantage to that learned body, as it deprived the members of a remedy, in case of any injustice done to them by the chancellor. This faculty, therefore, intreated the archbishop, since he had an indisputable right to visit their university, that he would exert his authority, and revoke the chancellor's pretended exemption. It was called a *pretended exemption*, because, as Sergeaux alleged, the bull had neither the pope's seal nor the subscription of any public notary, to prove it authentic. Notwithstanding this objection, Dr Hyndman, the chancellor, who was present in the convocation, insisted upon the instrument, and entered a protest against any farther proceedings. After the breaking up of the convocation, the archbishop, designing to visit the university, was informed, that the chancellor and proctors were resolved to insist upon the pope's bull, and oppose the visitation. Whereupon a writ was issued by the king's order, directed to the chancellor and students, requiring them not to oppose the jurisdiction of their ordinary and metropolitan, to renounce the bull in form, and to send their act of renunciation to the king. It does not appear, that this writ was obeyed, or the bull given up. However, that some kind of submission was made, is very probable, since the archbishop went to Oxford the May following, with a design to visit. It is true, he was opposed in the exercise of this jurisdiction; but it was upon a new plea: for now the university, waving their former privilege, pretended they were visitable by the crown only, and not by the archbishop. This created a new dispute; which being at last referred to the king, his majesty gave the cause against himself, and decided in favour of the archbishop. But, notwithstanding this sentence, the visitation did not go on at that time.

At his visitation in London, the archbishop revived an old constitution, first set on foot by Simon Niger, bishop of London; by which the inhabitants of the respective parishes were obliged to pay their rector one halfpenny in the pound out of the rent of their houses.

Archbishop Arundel was deeply involved in the political intrigues of the period, and in the second year of his translation, a parliament being held at London, the commons, with the king's leave, impeached the archbishop, together with his brother, the earl of Arundel, and the duke of Gloucester, of high treason. The archbishop was sentenced to be banished, and within forty days to depart the kingdom on pain of death. He retired first to France, and then to the court of Rome, where pope Boniface IX. gave him a kind reception, and wrote a letter to king Richard in his favour; but this having no effect, his holiness resolved to interpose his authority: he accordingly nominated Arundel to the bishopric of St Andrews, and declared his intention of giving him several preferments in England. The king, being informed of the pope's designs, wrote a letter to him in the following terms: "Thomas, for his treasonable conspiracy against our crown and royal dignity, has been sentenced only to perpetual banishment; whereas, had he been dealt with answerably to his demerits, he ought to have suffered the punishment of high treason; but in consideration of his character, and out of regard to religion, we have thought fit to grant him his life, and abated the rigour of the law. But since his going beyond sea, both ourself and our subjects are much surprised at the turn of his fortune; for we are informed that he has been invited to your holiness's court, countenanced in his misbehaviour, taken into your protection, and put in hopes of recovering his see, or at least of being promoted in our kingdom to benefices of greater value than those he enjoyed before. How destructive such unaccountable favours as these must be to our dignity and government, and to what apparent danger it may expose us, is easy to imagine: for which reason we are resolved not to bear with such treatment, though the whole world were of a different opinion; for we are thoroughly acquainted with this man, we know him to be of a turbulent, seditious temper, who, if he were permitted to live in our dominions, would return to his old practices, poison our subjects with misreporting the administration, and endea-

your to undermine our government ; for it is probable he would use sufficient precaution not to fall under the lash of the law. We desire, therefore, that your holiness would prevent these opportunities of mischief, and not shock our interests and inclinations by such favours ; for should such measures be put in execution, it is possible they might create such misunderstandings between the crown and the mitre as it might prove difficult to remove. For, to speak plainly, we cannot take that person for our friend, who caresses our enemies, and takes them by the hand in so loving a manner. However, if you have a mind to provide for him otherwise, we have nothing to object ; only we cannot allow him to dip in our dish. We heartily desire you would take the matter into serious consideration, as you tender our royal regards, and expect a compliance with any future request your holiness may make to us." This epistle had so good an effect upon his holiness, that he withheld his intended favours from Arundel ; and, at the king's request, promoted Roger Walden to the see of Canterbury.

Arundel, finding that the pope was intimidated, quitted Rome, and settled at Cologne ; but soon after became busily occupied in effecting the revolution which took place, when Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, ascended the throne as Henry IV. Arundel, (like his successors, archbishop Cranmer and archbishop Tillotson) considered that a revolution was, under certain circumstances, justifiable ; and Bolingbroke was easily persuaded by the archbishop to sail for England, under the pretext of vindicating his own rights and the liberties of the people from the oppressive tyranny of the king. Referring the reader to the history of England for the progress of this revolution, we have merely to observe that when, in the house of lords, Henry laid claim to the throne, he was supported by the archbishop in a speech replete, according to the custom of the age, with scripture references. The archbishop officiated, of course, at the usurper's coronation, and at the coronation dinner sat at his right hand.



Arundel was a man of the world and a politician, firm and decided in character ; and of such a person our venerable establishment had certainly great need at this time, as the commons had begun to think of applying the revenues of the Church to the exigencies of the state. This inclination, on the part of the people, displayed itself in various ways, but became most conspicuous in 1404, when the king held a parliament at Coventry, in St Mary's Hall, still existing in that ancient and loyal city. It was called *Parliamentum indoctum*, or the Lack-learning Parliament, because it was composed of none but illiterate persons ; all others, especially serjeants and barristers at law, being, by the king's express direction, excluded. M. Rapin thinks there is room to doubt whether these orders were so positive as is affirmed. He is, however, of opinion, that the court took care, upon this occasion, that such persons chiefly should be elected, as were least likely to be prejudiced in favour of the clergy ; and that for reasons which will presently appear. When the parliament met, the lord chancellor laid before them the necessities of the public ; that the Scots and Welsh, the French and Flemings, were ready to invade the kingdom ; that the exchequer was greatly exhausted, and the king's revenues unable to furnish the necessary defence. The commons hereupon remonstrated, that the clergy had engrossed a great part of the wealth of the kingdom ; that they lived in idleness, and contributed very little to the public advantage : whereas the laity hazarded both their persons and fortunes in the service of their country. They therefore were of opinion the king should seize the revenues of the Church, and apply them to the service of the nation. Archbishop Arundel, who was present at the motion, rose from his seat, and represented, " that the clergy had always contributed more to the public service than the laity, and had more frequently granted the crown a tenth, than the others had done a fifteenth ; and though they did not serve the king in person in his wars, yet they sent their tenants to assist him, and were at least as serviceable to him by their incessant prayers

for his success, as the laity were by their arms." The speaker of the house, sir John Cheney, followed the archbishop, and publicly declared, he thought the prayers of the Church a very slender supply, and that their lands would do the Church and nation more good. This answer fired the archbishop, who, getting up, declared with warmth, "that the king and kingdom could not expect to thrive, so long as the prayers of the clergy were despised. And as for you, sir," continued he, turning to the speaker, "who take the liberty to rally the functions of the clergy, I believe you will find it no easy undertaking to invade the rights and possessions of the Church." Then, perceiving the king, who was present at the contest, inclining to favour the design of the commons, he went up to him, and, on his knees, besought him to consider the oath he had taken at his coronation, to maintain the rights of the Church, and afford the clergy his favour and protection." Whether the king was really affected with the archbishop's discourse, or began to see the difficulty of the enterprize, he bad him rise and go to his place, assuring him he was fully resolved not to hearken to these new measures, but to leave the Church rather in a better condition than he found it. Arundel, encouraged by this promise, turned to the commons, and let them know that he saw through the whole design, telling them, "that their wicked advice was intended more for their own than the king's advantage. You, gentlemen," says he, "and others governed by the same views, have persuaded the king and his predecessors to seize the revenues of the friars alien, on pretence of augmenting the royal revenues, but in reality to get them into your own hands: for you have defeated the crown of those estates, and begged them for yourselves. And the same would be the case should the king comply with this execrable project: he would not be a farthing the richer in a year's time." This courage in the archbishop, and the king's declaration, silenced the commons, and put a stop to the design at present. Nevertheless, Arundel thought it best to secure a party in the house of lords against the

intended bill, in case the project should be revived. At last the commons themselves asked the archbishop's pardon, admired his resolution, and confessed the injustice of their expedient.

After this the archbishop visited the university of Cambridge, where he "made several statutes, suppressed several ill customs, and punished the students for their misbehaviour."

And now (1408) the attention of the archbishop was called to the doctrine of the Church, which was said to be endangered by the Lollards or followers of Wiclif, who had been increasing in numbers for the last twenty years, and who made Oxford their strong hold. Not only did they find fault with the doctrine of the Church, but they, under the character of Wiclif's "poor priests," went about the country, declaring, in the words of their master, that the clergy "were choked with the tallow of worldly goods, and consequently were hypocrites and anti-christs;" and that it "became the duty of laymen, under pain of damnation, to withhold from them their tithes, and to take from them their possessions." We can easily imagine the indignation with which such doctrines were heard by persons holding benefices in the established church, and how loudly they called upon the heads of the university to silence the parties. But the heads of houses being unsuccessful, the higher powers at length determined to interfere; and the archbishop resolved to visit the university, and to apply some further remedy. Accordingly he approached Oxford with a splendid retinue, and attended by his nephew, the earl of Arundel; but as he drew near the city, he was met by the heads of houses, who insolently told him, that if he came only to visit the town he was welcome, but if he came in the character of visitor of the university, they would not admit his jurisdiction. The archbishop was naturally indignant, and leaving the university in a day or two, complained to the king of the treatment he had received. The history of this controversy shows how all



things tended to bring our poor church under the dominion of Rome.

The heads of the university were summoned to the court, and the chancellor and proctors were turned out of their office. The students were so far disconcerted by these rigours, that they discontinued the public lectures, and were even upon the point of breaking up, and dissolving their body. The king, being informed of what passed, sent them a reprimanding letter at first, but afterwards was pleased to treat them more gently. The royal award in favour of the archbishop was confirmed by act of parliament. And to fortify himself still further, Arundel procured a bull from the pope, to revoke the exemption granted to the university by Boniface. But this bull of revocation was afterwards voided by Sixtus IV. who, as much as in him lay, restored the university to their former immunities. As to the king's decision, in case the university did not abide by it, but disturbed the archbishop or his successors in their visitation, they were to forfeit a thousand pounds, and their franchises to be seized, and remain in the king's hands, till they submitted to the award.

Soon after the termination of this controversy, a convocation was held at St Paul's, in London, when the bishops and other clergy were vehement in their condemnation of the Wiclifites, and complained of the principles now so prevalent at Oxford. By the convocation the archbishop was pressed to visit the university, and accordingly he wrote to the chancellor and heads of houses, giving them notice of his intention to hold a visitation in St Mary's church. The refractory heads of houses now submitted, and even asked pardon for their former contumacy. A committee of twelve persons was appointed to examine the writings of Wiclif and his disciples, and on the report of their proceedings to the archbishop, he confirmed their censures. A commission was next established, for inquiry into the opinions of persons suspected of heresy; which proceedings so exasperated the Lollards, that the archbishop received from them many "a cursing letter."

But the archbishop was not a man to be frightened out of his course, and he still acted with vigour, though not always with sound judgment. He sought for a condemnation of the Wiclifite doctrines from Rome, and he also asked for a bull for digging up the bones of Wiclif. The first request was granted, the second the pope was wise enough to refuse.

The church of England had from the beginning encouraged the translation of the scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and from time to time certain portions had been published. But no translation had ever been so successful as that of Wiclif; and his "poor priests" made use of it, not merely to instruct the people, but to attack the established church. To meet this the archbishop obtained a synodical decree, which *virtually* forbade the translation of the scriptures into English. We say that this was *virtually* the case for our much-loved Church, corrupt as in many respects it had become, was not yet reduced to such a condition as absolutely to prohibit the translation of the Bible: such a principle was not asserted, for the archbishops' constitution was merely directed against a translation made by a private hand; and declared, that no version of holy scripture should be used until it should be allowed by a provincial synod, or at least by the bishop of the diocese. It is probable that archbishop Arundel merely intended this as a temporary expedient: for he himself when, in the year 1394, he preached the funeral sermon of queen Anne, at Westminster, commended that princess for spending her time in reading the four gospels translated into English. What has now been said is important, as shewing how gradually those errors crept into our church, which rendered the reformation, which took place about a century and a half afterwards, so necessary.

Nothing can justify the severity of the measures adopted by Arundel against the Lollards, in putting in force the statute *De hæretico comburendo*, which had been passed in the beginning of the reign of Henry IV. But it must be remembered, in vindication of his character, that the

Lollards were not only heretical in doctrine, but foremost also, in every seditious movement: that they were increasing in number, and that not only the friends of the established church, but every conservative in the kingdom, desirous of obtaining security for his property, was clamouring for their suppression. In the year 1400 we find that the several estates of the realm, in their dread of Lollardism, "pray the king, Henry IV. to pass such a law as may effectually rid the kingdom of those *plotters against all rule, and right, and liberty*, whose aim is to dispossess the clergy of their benefices, the king of his throne, and the whole realm of tranquillity and order, exciting to the utmost of their power, sedition and insurrection." From this contemporary document we see that the Lollards were regarded as radicals and chartists would be regarded now.

It is the *temper* of the persecutor which is to be condemned, as contrary to the principles both of humanity and of that religion which affords the pretext and the occasion for its indulgence; and this temper may be as vehemently exhibited in the columns of a newspaper or magazine, as in the dark cells of the inquisition. We are rather to rejoice in these days, that public opinion revolts from the use of the rack and the stake, than to pride ourselves in being in temper less inclined to persecution than our ancestors.

About the year 1413, early in the reign of Henry V. the Lollards began to assume a still more menacing aspect, and to threaten an appeal to the force of numbers, rather than to the argument of sound reason and holy lives. They posted papers on the doors of every church in London, declaring themselves to be a hundred thousand strong, and that they were ready to take the field against all who refused to become their proselytes. In sir John Oldcastle, the lord of Cobham, they found a leader of indomitable courage, and fanatically opposed to the Church. In the convocation, which was sitting at this time, complaints against sir John Oldcastle were examined, and he was



declared not only to have proceeded to the most unjustifiable excesses; but to be heretical in his doctrine, and on these grounds the archbishop was desired by the convocation to form a process against him. Arundel who, more a politician than a divine, and not a man of a cruel disposition, acted with caution, and consulted the king. The king endeavoured, but in vain, to reclaim sir John, who was at last summoned to appear before the archbishop. Oldcastle defied the citations of the spiritual court; and when the archbishop, on his repeated refusals to appear, pronounced him excommunicated for contempt of court, he scoffed at the sentence, and proceeded to fortify his castle. This defiance of the law was not to be tolerated, and he was at length seized by a military force, conducted to the tower, and arraigned before the primate as a heretic. The conduct of Arundel was forbearing and mild; that of Oldcastle insolent in the extreme. The archbishop, having pointed out the legality of all the proceedings against him, stated that he had been excommunicated for his contumacy, but that he was now ready to absolve him from censure. Oldcastle refused to move for absolution, but stated his willingness to give him an account of his faith. Upon this he took a paper from his bosom and gave it to the archbishop. The archbishop with kindness told him that the paper contained a great many catholic truths, and on the whole was unobjectionable, but that it did not contain a full answer to the articles which had been brought against him, and he desired him therefore to declare his opinion clearly and candidly on the following points:—First, whether he believed the matter or substance of bread remained after consecration in the sacrament of the altar. Secondly, whether he believed it necessary to confess to a priest lawfully ordained. To this his answer was, that he would not make any other declaration of his faith than what was already contained in his paper. Upon this the archbishop recited the decision of the church of Rome as to these points; adding withal, that the belief of that Church being grounded on

the testimonies of St Augustine, St Jerome, St Ambrose, and other fathers, all catholics, were to be concluded by it. To this sir John replied, that he was willing to submit his belief and practice to the determinations of holy Church; but would not confess the pope, the cardinals, the archbishops and bishops to be any part of that authority. The archbishop, hoping that he might come to a better mind, with great forbearance, gave him four days time for a farther answer.

Upon the 25th of September, he was brought again by the lieutenant of the Tower before the archbishop; the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor sitting upon the bench with him. The archbishop desired sir John to move for the absolution of the Church in the customary form. He replied, he would beg absolution of none but God Almighty. After this, the archbishop desired him to make an express declaration concerning the sacrament of the altar. To which he gave this answer: that as Christ, when upon earth, consisted of the divine and human nature, His Divinity being concealed under His Humanity: so in the sacrament of the altar, there is both a real body and real bread; that the bread is the object of our sight, but that the Body of Christ contained or shrouded under it, is imperceptible to our senses. When he was pressed closer to the point of transubstantiation, he declared expressly against it, adding withal, that the common belief in this article was a contradiction to the holy scriptures; that the decision was modern, and that the Church did not vary thus from the old standard, till she was poisoned by being endowed. And as to penance and confession, he affirmed, that if any person happened to be under the misfortune of any great crime, and was not in a condition to disentangle himself, he conceived it would be advisable to make use of the direction of some holy and discreet priest. But then he did not think there was any necessity of confessing to the parish curate, or any other of that character: for, that in this case, there needed no more

than contrition to cancel the fault, and restore the penitent. Touching the worshipping the cross, he maintained, that only the Body of Christ, which hung upon the cross, ought to be adored. And being farther interrogated what regard was to be paid to the resemblance of that cross : to this he replied directly, that all the reverence he could pay, was only to clean it, and keep it handsomely. Being interrogated farther about the power of the keys, and what his opinion was of the character and authority of the pope, of the archbishops and bishops ; he made no scruple to declare, that the pope was downright anti-christ, and the head of that party : that the bishops were the members, and the friars the hinderparts of this anti-christian society : that we ought to obey neither pope nor prelates any farther than their virtue and probity could command : and that unless they imitated our Saviour and St Peter in the sanctity of their lives, the pretence of their commission was not to be regarded : that he who was most unblemished in his conduct, most remarkable for his sanctity, was St Peter's successor, and that all other titles to church authority signified nothing. After this, he turned to the people, and told them aloud, that the prelates his judges were notorious seducers, *that they would carry them to hell, and bade them have a care of being governed by their directions.*

Such language against the heads of the Church and rulers of the people, was certainly any thing but scriptural ; but still the archbishop was unwilling to come to extremities, and did his utmost to bring him to the communion of the Church, and to a declaration of his belief of the doctrines then received. But sir John Oldcastle answered that he could not recede from any part of the confession of faith he had already made. Upon this the archbishop, with great regret, as Walsingham represents it, proceeded to sentence, declaring him a heretic convict, leaving him as such to the lay-power. He likewise excommunicated all those who for the future should appear in his defence, and abet his cause.



When the court rose, the archbishop waited on the king, gave him an account of his proceedings, and begged that the execution might be respited for fifty days. This request was easily granted : for, as the historian continues, both the king and archbishop were extremely desirous to preserve sir John Oldcastle.

Oldcastle was again committed to the tower, in the hope and expectation that he might pledge himself to better conduct for the future, and so become qualified to receive the king's pardon : but from the tower he made his escape. As soon as he had thus regained his liberty, he excited his followers to rebellion, and urged them to take the field against the government ; and such was his success, that king Henry V. felt himself insecure in his residence at Eltham, and removed to his palace at Westminster. In the mean time the Lollards assembled in great numbers in Fickett's-field, at the back of St Giles's, at the dead of night, where they waited for their commander, sir John Oldcastle. Before break of day, however, they were surprised by the king, and many of these rebel Lollards falling into his hands, were imprisoned. They had mistaken the arrival of the king, and thought it was a friendly party under their leader, sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, come to join them. The king, knowing that there were many Lollards within the city, also took the precaution of shutting and guarding the gates of London. By these decisive measures he checked the rebellion at its commencement, and the disheartened Lollards dispersed ; but the measures themselves suffice to shew that the king felt he had cause for alarm. This is more clearly proved by his proclamations. On the morning of this day the king offered a reward of five hundred marks, to any by whose counsel lord Cobham should be taken, one thousand marks to any who should take him, and immunities and privileges to any city or town whose burgesses should bring him before the king. This proclamation, dated Westminster, 11th of January, 1414, assigns these reasons for the offer of such rewards for his capture : " Since, by his

abetting, very many of our subjects called Lollards, have maintained diverse opinions against the catholic faith; and contrary to their duty of allegiance, and falsely and traitorously, have imagined our death, because we have taken part against them and their opinions as a true Christian prince, and as we are bound by the obligation of an oath; and because they have plotted very many designs, as well for the destruction of the catholic faith, as of the state of the lords and great men of our realm, as well spiritual as temporal; and, to fulfil their wicked purpose, have designed to make diverse unlawful assemblies, to the probable destruction of our own person, and of the states of the lords and nobles aforesaid."

In the same proclamation we find these words, which shew the desire of Henry and his advisers, including the archbishop, to mingle mercy with justice: "We, observing how some of these Lollards and others, who have designed our death and other crimes and evils, have been taken on the past occasion, and are condemned to death; and wishing hereafter, in a better and more gentle manner, as far as we can, to avoid the shedding of the blood of Christians, especially of our subjects, whom, for the tender and especial regard we have towards them, we desire with all anxiety of mind, to preserve from the blood-shedding and personal punishment," &c.

In the December of the same year was the following pardon proclaimed, which, among other things, fixes the precise date of the affair in St Giles's Field, and supplies, what has been triumphantly demanded by those who will pronounce the whole to have been a mere invention, *the conviction of an accused party*. "Whereas, John Longacre, of Wykeham, formerly of London, mercer, was indicted before William Roos, of Hamelak, and others our justices, assigned to try treasons, felonies, &c. in our county of Middlesex, for plotting to put us and our brothers to death, and to make sir John Oldcastle regent of this kingdom, and had resolved, with twenty thousand men, to execute their wicked purpose; and on the Wed-

nesday after the Epiphany, in the first year of our reign, there sir John Oldcastle and others, traitorously persevering in such purpose, traitorously met together in St Giles's Great Field, and compassed our death; and the said Longacre pleaded 'not guilty,' and put himself on his country; and he was by the inquiry [inquest] found guilty, and condemned to be drawn from the tower of London to St Giles's Field, and there to be hanged; we, of our special grace, have pardoned the said John Longacre."

For the authorities of this statement with reference to sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, the reader is referred to Collier, and to Tyler's "Memoirs of Henry V:" to the latter author we are indebted for the documents quoted above. The statement is made as an act of justice to archbishop Arundel. For Fox, the martyrologist, who, in his zeal against popery, too often forgets that charity is a part of Christianity, converts sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, into a protestant martyr, and says he "would not obey the *beast*," meaning the archbishop of Canterbury, whom he calls "Caiaphas sitting in consistory;" adding, "the wolf was hungry and must needs be fed with blood." He styled him and the other bishops "bloody murderers," &c. Mr. Tyler justly observes, that "of the seditious and treasonable conduct of Oldcastle, no one seems to have entertained a doubt before the time of Fox, who wrote more than a century and a half after the event."

Without wishing to vindicate the character of Arundel, who, as an intriguing politician, is open to much censure, we must, in justice to his memory, remember that he presided over our beloved establishment when it was in its most corrupt state, and when the demand for a reformation was urgent, but when all the conservatives of the day were, not without reason, alarmed at the excesses and the violent proceedings of the political dissenters. In course of time the government saw the necessity of reform, and a reformation of our Church took place; but this was not to be expected at once, and we are not to



blame Arundel for not having been wiser than the age in which he lived. He could not distinguish between the disgust which good men felt for the corruptions of the Church and the treasonable intentions of the factious ; but he felt, as a conservative, that these excesses must be put down or the country, in church and state, would be ruined. In his conduct towards Oldcastle he acted strictly according to the law, whether the law was just or not. He adhered to the rules of justice, and though exposed to insults and personal indignities, not frequently offered in those days to men in high station by their inferiors, he did not permit himself to lose his temper ; he was uniformly kind and courteous to the prisoner, and although he pronounced sentence upon him according to the law, he used all his influence to prevent the law from being carried into effect. Oldcastle was not apprehended during archbishop Arundel's life. It was not till the close of the year 1417, that the type and father, in England, of " political dissenters," sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, was apprehended. Parliament was then sitting, and how he was regarded by the members of parliament is evident from this, that " as soon as they heard *the public enemy* was taken, they all agreed not to dissolve parliament until he were examined and heard." Lord Powis was sent to bring him to London, his men having taken him after a desperate struggle. He was forthwith carried before parliament as an outlaw, on the charge of heresy, and as an excommunicated heretic. He had no defence to make, and was hanged for his treason, and burnt while hanging for his heresy. It is presumed that even in these days he would have suffered death for his crimes, though the mode of his death might in some respects have been different.

But for his condemnation Arundel was not responsible. He had himself paid the debt of nature in the year 1413. He died of an inflammation of the throat. The Lollards attributed his death to the judgment of heaven upon the opponent of their faction, as if rebellion and treason were under the special protection of the God of order.

Whatever were the faults of Arundel, he set a liberal and princely example worthy of all imitation, as a dignitary of the church of England. He almost built the palace of the bishops of Ely in Holborn,—a very different kind of palace from that now possessed by his successor in Dover street,—a palace, be it observed, with a chapel attached to it. To the cathedral church of Ely he presented a table of massive gold. He gave many pieces of plate to the minster at York, when he was archbishop of that province, and he commenced a palace for the residence of the metropolitan. He built the lantern tower and a great part of the nave of Canterbury cathedral, and gave it a ring of five bells, called after him, “Arundel’s ring:” he presented that cathedral with many rich gifts and endowments.—*Collier. Fuller. Godwin. Lingard. Rapin. Fox. Biog. Brit. Poole’s Hist. of England. Tyler’s Memoirs of Henry V.*

ASAPH, SAINT, flourished about the year 590. About 560, Kentigern, bishop of Glasgow, being driven from his country, founded a monastery at Llanelvy, and a British king of the neighbourhood allowed the church to be an episcopal see. In course of time Kentigern was called back to Scotland, and he gave the bishopric to a disciple, named Asaph; a man of great virtue and learning. After his death the monastery lost its old name, and took that of its second bishop. To him are attributed “The Ordinances of his church,” “The Life of Kentigern,” and some other pieces. He was a very diligent preacher, and had frequently this saying in his mouth, “they who withstand the preaching of God’s word envy the salvation of men.”

*Biog. Brit. Le Neve’s Fasti. H. Wharton’s Historia de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus, necnon de Episcopis et Decanis Assavensibus.*

ASCOUGH, or AYSCOTH, WILLIAM. Of this prelate the account of bishop Godwin is here subjoined.

“William Ayscotb, doctor of laws and clerk of the coun-

sel, was consecrated in the chapel of Windsor, July 20, 1438. The year 1450 it happened the commons to arise in sundry parts of the realm, by the stirring of Jack Cade, naming himself John Mortimer. A certain number of lewd persons, (tenants for the most part to this bishop,) intending to join themselves to the rest of that crew, came to Evendon, where he was then saying of mass. What was their quarrel to him I find not. But certain it is, they drew him from the altar in his alb, with his stole about his neck, to the top of a hill not far off, and there as he kneeled on his knees praying, they cleft his head, spoiled him to the skin, and rending his bloody shirt into a number of pieces, took every man a rag to keep for a monument of their worthy exploit. The day before, they had robbed his carriages of 10,000 marks in ready money. This barbarous murder was committed June 29th, the year aforesaid."

Dr Fuller supposes that the bishop was attacked, because he was "learned, pious, and rich, three capital crimes in a clergyman." He also gives us the following distich, which may be applicable in other times.

Sic concusso cadit populari mitra tumultu,  
Protegat optamus nunc Diadema Deus.

By people's fury mitres thus cast down,  
We pray henceforward God preserve the crown.

*Godwin. Biog. Brit.*

ASHE, SIMEON, a nonconformist, was educated at Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards settled in Staffordshire, from whence he removed to London, where he exercised the ministry twenty-three years. He was a presbyterian, and one of the deputies who went to congratulate Charles the Second on his restoration at Breda. He died in 1662. He published a treatise on the Power of Godliness, and several single sermons.—*Calamy.*

ASHTON, THOMAS, born in Lancashire, in 1631, was educated as a servitor, at Brazenose college, Oxford, of which he was afterwards elected a fellow. He was, from Wood's



account, "a forward and conceited scholar, and became a malapert preacher in and near Oxford." He was nearly being expelled for an offensive sermon, preached by him in St Mary's, and was obliged to quit his fellowship from some quarrel with the principal of his college. He "finished his restless course" soon after the restoration. He published two works, of which the titles are, "Blood-thirsty Cyrus unsatisfied with blood; or the boundless Cruelty of an Anabaptist's Tyranny;" and "Satan in Samuel's Mantle; or the Cruelty of Germany acted in Jersey." They were levelled against colonel Mason, the governor of Jersey.—*Biog. Brit. Wood's Ath.*

ASHWELL, GEORGE, was born in 1612. He was admitted of Wadham college in 1627, where he was elected fellow. He became a celebrated tutor of that house. In 1658 he obtained the living of Hanwell, near Banbury. He died in 1693. He published,—1. *Fides Apostolica*, Oxon. 1653, which Baxter impugned, but afterwards expressed his sorrow for having done so. 2. *Gestus Eucharisticus*, concerning the gesture to be used at the receiving of the sacrament. Oxon. 1663. 3. *De Socino et Socinianismo*. 4. *De Ecclesiâ, &c.* a dissertation concerning the church of Rome. Oxford, 1688. He had the character of a peaceable and religious man, and of being well versed in logic, the schoolmen and the fathers.—*Biog. Brit. Wood's Ath.*

ASSER. The history of bishop Asser is involved in obscurity, because, independent of the information contained in the book which goes by his name, "*De rebus gestis Ælfredi*," we have very few personal allusions to him, and upon the genuineness of his works, very serious doubts must exist, in the mind of every one who consults the "*Biographia Britannica Literaria*" of Mr Wright. It is only certain that a Welsh ecclesiastic of the name of Asser, was invited by king Alfred into Wessex, that he was employed by the king in the wise measures he adopted to improve the condition of his subjects,

and became bishop of Sherborne. The commonly received history of Asser is as follows: that he was a monk of St David's, (Menevensis) in Wales, and was invited by Alfred to his court, in 880. Asser met the king at Dran, in Wiltshire, when Alfred endeavoured to persuade him to leave St David's, and dwell with him as a friend. But Asser, considering it his duty not lightly to forsake the place where he had been educated, and where he had taken the vows of priesthood, modestly declined. Alfred then desired that he would give six months to the court, and six months to his monastery. Asser consulted his fellow monks on the subject, and they, proposing to themselves great advantages from the friendship of Alfred to one of their monastery, readily agreed. They, however, wished that the arrangement should be, that Asser should reside at the court, and the monastery by quarterly, instead of half-yearly turns. He then returned to the king, who received him with the greatest kindness, and conferred soon after upon him, among other benefits, four monasteries, a silk pall, and as much incense as a strong man could carry. To these was subsequently added the bishopric of Sherborne. This last was resigned afterwards by Asser, but he retained the title all his life. He died in 910. Asser drew up some memorials of the life of Alfred, (which are preserved,) and dedicated and presented them to the king in 893. In this work is a curious account of the manner in which they spent their time together.

The only work of which he is the undisputed author, is this life of Alfred. It was first published at the end of Walsingham's History, in 1574, by archbishop Parker. It was reprinted by Camden in 1603, and at Oxford in 1722.—Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*. Asser's *Life of Alfred*.

ASSHETON, WILLIAM, was born in 1641. He became fellow of Brazennose college, Oxford, in 1663, and was for some time chaplain to the duke of Ormond, who was

chancellor of the university. He was the projector of a scheme for the maintenance of clergymen's widows and others; and he persuaded the mercer's company to join him in carrying it out. A deed of settlement was executed in 1699. The plan, however, did not succeed as originally intended. He was offered the headship of his college, but declined the office. He died at Beckenham, 1711. Of his character we are told:

“He was very regular and assiduous in private devotion, meditation and reading. History and philosophy he justly used as the proper handmaids to divinity, which was his business and delight, his study indeed. He readily subscribed to the publishing all critical, learned, and laborious works: thus he completed one of the best libraries any clergyman can desire, having the blessing of a sufficient revenue, out of which he laid out at least £10 per annum to improve and increase his first stock of books; whereof he sent many duplicates, upon request, for Wales, and the highlands of Scotland. Among all his books, those of devotion were intermixed, or at hand, to begin and end with. His zeal in and for the Church, was ever conspicuous. He preached twice every Sunday, to keep the people from straggling, and engage them to frequent the church; otherwise he knew, and lamented, that we have but too much preaching in the nation. At length he found his labour too great for him; which yet rather than lessen, (though in a small parish) he was willing to keep an assistant before he died; to whom he committed the catechising part in his declining age, allowing him 5s. per Sunday, over and above £30 per annum, and the benefit of his table all church days, &c., with several gifts and advantages, that made up the whole about £50 per annum. He watched diligently over his flock, and never neglected to pray for them, and bless them: neither would he suffer any to perish for want of admonition or reproof; as well in the spirit of meekness, as with all authority; though he never sued, cited, or prosecuted the most injurious and obstinate offenders; yet



he rebuked and avoided the unruly, and kept the impertinently censorious and perverse at a due distance. He knew and did his own duty well, and would have all his people mind theirs, who were not to tell him what to preach, &c. however offended at his just reproofs and warnings; of which he had an instance in a wilful profaner, and absenter from the church sometimes, and from the Lord's table always; pretending that the doctor had preached against him, and told him he should be damned, before all the congregation. He so much the more deserved of his parish, as he was more generous and charitable among them, than just to himself, in disregarding often his small tithes and perquisites, taking quietly what some left him, and helping all; wherein, to make all just and easy too, he tried all possible fair ways without contention, by letting out the whole, and letting every man his part; and at last taking all in kind, when they would not come near the value. He persisted in taking his tenths many years, till his death, with all imaginable ease to his people, and too much loss and expense to himself; who yet always observed and declared, that the worst tithe was better than the best composition he could make; most countrymen being too hard at bargains, and often so unreasonable, as to stand in their own light, as they call it. He kept a constant good table, and seemed glad of daily guests, excepting on fast-days, &c. otherwise the more frequent visits were to him the more welcome. He kept up the true moderate English hospitality, genteely managed by an excellent virgin-sister, (who lived and died with him while he continued single) and some few years by a truly virtuous wife, though sickly, for whom he set up his coach, being most tender of her, and sorrowful at her death. As he was a most affectionate, tender husband and brother, so he was a just indulgent master, and had generally careful and honest servants, whom he took pains to make religious, peaceable, and sober.

“He daily observed the good old religious way of family devotions, and Sunday repetitions, &c. in the even-

ing, for heavenly knowledge, grace, and protection hourly. He sometimes used extempore sermons, (having a body of divinity in his head) until he was disturbed and put into a consternation with his congregation, by a woman swooning away in the church, who was soon carried out, and the people became silent; yet he could not recover his subject, nor recollect any thing he had said before; which obliged him to make an apology and come down. This he took as a warning never to presume upon the strength of his parts or memory any more; neither would he ever after venture into any pulpit without notes. He was easy of access, most courteous and affable, meek as a lamb, harmless as a dove; but withal, wise to distinguish persons, times, and places. His table-talk was both delightful and improving; he diverted sad stories, and decried false ones; he would not willingly know a wicked person, nor suffer a liar or tale-bearer in his sight. He never looked so frowning, as when a certain gentleman was backbiting another, and telling them a scandalous story; he started up, and with emotion asked him if he could face the absent? which soon confounded the whisperer."

He was the author of 1. Toleration disapproved and condemned, 1670 2. Cases of scandal and persecution; in which he maintains that the execution of penal laws against dissenters was not persecution. 3. A country parson's admonition to his parishioners against popery; with directions how to behave themselves when any one designs to seduce them from the church of England. 4. The possibility of apparitions. 5. Many moral, theological, and controversial works.—Watt's *Life of Assheton*. 1714. *Biog. Brit.* Wood's *Ath.*

ASTERIUS. A father of the Church, who flourished at the beginning of the fifth century, of whose history little is known, except that he was bishop of Amasea, in Pontus. He had practised at one time as a lawyer. Of his many works only a few remain, and they consist of homilies, which have been evidently interpolated.

There was another Asterius a layman and an Arian, mentioned as a learned writer by St Jerome, and severely censured by St Athanasius: he was a champion of the Arians in the controversies of the fourth century.—*Dupin. Tillemont. Cave.*

ATHANASIUS, SAINT. This illustrious father of the Church, who, during forty-six years of alternate dignity and persecution, was the champion of the catholic faith, was born in the city of Alexandria, about the year 296. His parents are said to have been Christians, and to have been distinguished for their virtues. Of his infancy and early education we know nothing. We are told indeed by Rufinus, that St Athanasius, being yet a child and playing with other children, imitated the ceremonies of the Church, and baptized his playfellows; and that Alexander, the bishop, having cognizance of it, made enquiries as to the manner in which the young people were baptized, and asserted the validity of the baptism, designing young Athanasius for the ministry from that time. But this story is now rejected as unworthy of credit by all judicious critics, and is inconsistent with the evident chronology of history. It is, however, certain that he was early noticed by Alexander, by whom he was ordained to the diaconate. While Athanasius was a deacon the Arian heresy commenced, and the young deacon was always suspected of urging on Alexander, the bishop, to those strong measures which he eventually adopted against the heresiarch Arius.—(See *Alexander and Arius.*)

In 325 he accompanied his bishop to the council of Nice. This council was convened for the purpose of terminating the dissensions which had been excited by Arius and his followers. It consisted of 318 bishops. The presidents of the council were Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, Eustatius, of Antioch, and Hosius, of Corduba. It was a solemn and magnificent sight, when men were assembled from all parts of the known world, many of them venerable not only for their years, but for the



sufferings they had endured in times of persecution, all full of zeal to vindicate the insulted honour of their Saviour and their God. Some of these holy confessors still retained the wounds they had received in this honourable warfare. Paul, bishop of Neocæsaræa, bore the marks of the persecution he had endured ; Paphnutius and Potamon had each lost an eye, and these were surrounded by others who had suffered in various ways. The number of attendant priests and deacons was very great, and they came from the most remote churches, eager to bear witness to the tradition which each church had received, that the Lord Jesus Christ is Perfect God as well as Perfect Man.

The writers of the Romish communion pretend that this council was called by the authority of Sylvester, bishop of Rome, that Constantine assembled this council, and that Hosius, bishop of Corduba, and the Roman presbyters, Vitus and Vincentius, presided in it as representatives of the pope. There is nothing, however, as Mr Hamond remarks, in any of the records of the council, or in any of the ecclesiastical historians, to countenance the assertion that Hosius was in any way a representative of the bishop of Rome ; or that the presbyters, Vitus and Vincentius, who were his representatives, acted in any way as presidents of council. It is moreover evident, as bishop Andrewes (sermon on Numbers x. 1, 2.) and many others of our divines observe, that not only this, but all œcumenical councils were assembled by the authority of the emperor for the time being, the popes, in no instance, doing more than exerting themselves to persuade the emperor to issue their summons for that purpose. This is clearly to be seen in the acts of the various councils ; and as regards particularly that of Chalcedon, it may be remarked, that Leo failed in his attempt to induce Theodosius to assemble the council, though he did prevail on Marcian, the successor of Theodosius, to do so.

The council assembled in a magnificent hall prepared

for the purpose, in the centre of which were placed the sacred scriptures, as the book according to which their proceedings were to be regulated. The emperor Constantine was present. He entered the hall, attired in purple and adorned with jewels, but without guards. A chair of gold was provided for him, but he refused to be seated until the bishops had signified their request to that effect, and as soon as he had taken his seat, they did so too. The emperor addressed the council in a speech of much humility, after which he took no part in the proceedings. For three centuries the civil powers had persecuted the Truth; all the powers of the world had conspired to exterminate that imperium in imperio, the Church: but the kingdom of Christ was now triumphant, and the world, obliged to yield to public opinion, did homage, in the person of Constantine, to the truth. Henceforth the cause of truth was not to be openly attacked by the powers of the world; the state was no longer to persecute the Church: but by interfering with the Church, and seeking to control it, the state has done perhaps more damage to the truth than before; and though persecution assumed a different form, yet, as we may perceive in the history of St Athanasius, it did not cease to exist.

Arius had been summoned to attend the council, and was invited to declare his opinions, and the reasons on which they were founded. As is stated in his life, he maintained various erroneous doctrines: but that for which he was most notorious, and to condemn which this council was assembled, was the assertion of the inferiority of the Son of God, in nature as well as in dignity, to the Father, and the denial of his Divinity. Already had his blasphemous tenets been condemned in two councils, held in 315 and 319, under Alexander, in Alexandria; but owing to the support he received, it had been considered necessary to convene this first of the general councils.

It was in this council that Athanasius first exhibited those wonderful powers of mind, for which he was distinguished through a life-time devoted to the sacred cause of

vindicating the Divinity of our blessed Lord and only Saviour against all heretics.

In its dealing with Arius and his followers, the council became convinced that it would be necessary, when defining the true doctrines of the Church, to oppose to their sophisms decided and unequivocal formularies of faith. Hence the council drew up the Nicene Creed, as far as the words, "I believe in the Holy Ghost;" what follows being of a later date. In this it was asserted, with reference to the prevalent controversy, that the Son "was very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance (*homo-ousios*) with the Father."

The emperor, by a stretch of the civil power, threatened all who should refuse to subscribe, with deposition and exile. Let this be borne in mind by those whose consciences are troubled at the power exercised by the state at the present time. Seventeen bishops at first hesitated to sign, but afterwards affixed their signatures. Only Arius, and two Egyptian bishops, Theonas and Secundus, persevered in their obstinate refusal. Constantine banished them to Illyria; and three months later, Eusebius, of Nicomedia, and Theognis, of Nice, were also sent into exile.

We may bring this brief account of this great council to a conclusion, by remarking, that it next considered the case of Meletius and his followers, and passed a decree for their re-admission into the Church, upon certain conditions stated in the synodal epistle. The council also settled the dispute respecting the proper time of the observance of Easter, which some of the Eastern churches continued to keep at the same time as the Jews did their passover; and they also made other rules for various matters of ecclesiastical discipline. The decrees of this council were published in a synodal letter, addressed to the church of Alexandria; and Constantine himself addressed letters to all churches, exhorting them to receive the decrees of the council, and imposing civil penalties upon the followers of Arius.



Athanasius, when he attended his bishop to this council, was only twenty-nine years of age, and a deacon. The share he took in the proceedings of the council, considering his rank in the Church, surprises us. It is evident that Alexander, though a holy man, was a weak man : and it was probably as acting in his name, and, in a manner, for him, that St Athanasius was heard by those who knew that he had borne the chief part on the orthodox side, in the controversies at Alexandria, to which Arius had given rise.

Four months after the council of Nice, Alexander died, recommending the unwilling Athanasius as his successor. To elect his successor the bishops of the province assembled, the multitude surrounding the church, and imploring them to let their choice rest upon St Athanasius. Upon Athanasius their choice fell ; and in 326 he was consecrated by most of the bishops of the provinces of Egypt, Thebais, Lybia, and Pentapolis. Such an assembly of bishops, for such a purpose, would be a spectacle only less imposing than that which Athanasius had witnessed the year before at Nice. It was not till December that he was consecrated, for he fled into the desert, at first, to avoid an office which no honest man should undertake except in the spirit of a martyr, and which, as every sincere man knows the weakness of the flesh, however willing the spirit may be, must therefore be undertaken by honest men with fear. Athanasius knew that the patriarch of Alexandria would not be permitted to feast in a lordly palace ; his grand ascetic mind would have repudiated the idea : he knew that he would have to risk his life for the faith : he might well therefore be pardoned for shrinking from a post of such strong temptation, although in after years he reproached himself for evincing a distrust in God's protecting grace and providential care.

His troubles commenced with his episcopate, St Helena being dead, a change had come over the mind of Constantine, and through the influence of his sister, Constantia, he was led to take a more favourable view than before of

the Arian faction ; and in the end recalled from exile those whom he had banished for their opposition to the decisions of Nice. Arius was permitted to return to Alexandria, and brought with him a command from the emperor to Athanasius to admit him to the communion of the Church. St Athanasius refused to comply, and he received a letter from the emperor in the following terms : “ you have been informed of my wishes, and of my fixed resolution on this subject, and I command you to give free admission to all who desire to enter the Church : if I hear of you refusing to any a free participation of Church communion, or of your interdicting them, I shall immediately give orders for your deposition and banishment.” We complain in these days of the interference of the state in the things of religion, but a measure so strong as this would hardly be ventured upon against the church of England. Nor to the usurped authority of the emperor did the illustrious father, St Athanasius, succumb. He undauntedly declared that it was not possible for the Church to hold communion with a heresy that attacked Christ himself. The emperor gave way ; but the enemies of St Athanasius were bent upon his ruin. Eusebius, of Nicomedia, put himself at the head of the low church, or Arian party, within the Church, and entered into a correspondence with the Meletians, a schismatic denomination, who were as much opposed to the patriarch of Alexandria as Arius himself. As the Arians were the liberals of the day, and desired to explain away the mysteries of Christianity so as to conciliate the heathens, the union between these parties was not difficult : but their conduct was atrocious. Although they professed the gospel of truth, they invented and propagated the most infamous falsehoods, against Athanasius, which, by the low church politicians of the day, were eagerly received. They went so far as to accuse him before the council of Tyre of having flogged five bishops, and of having mutilated and murdered Arsenius, bishop of Hypsale, in the Thebaid. In order to prove their accusation they produced a withered arm, which they asserted

to have belonged to Arsenius. The Arians triumphed for the time. Athanasius, in conscious innocence, stood alone unmoved amidst his indignant friends. He demanded whether there were any persons present who had known Arsenius personally, and was answered in the affirmative by several of the members of the council. Athanasius retired for a few moments : when he re-entered the hall, he was not unattended. A man with his eyes cast down, and wrapped in a large cloak, was by his side. At the request of Athanasius he raised up his head, and to the surprise of those who thought him far away, Arsenius stood before them.

The fact is, that, having heard of the use the Arians were making of his absence, Arsenius had travelled day and night till he arrived in Tyre, in time to crush the conspiracy by his presence. He presented himself to Athanasius, who thus produced him to the council, exclaiming, " Behold Arsenius with his two hands ; God has given him no more ; it is for my accusers to say where a third could be placed, or where that has come from which they have just exhibited to you."

Such was the fury of the Arians at this exposure, that they would have torn Athanasius to pieces, had he not been conveyed out of their reach by the soldiers of the emperor, who placed him on board of a ship.

This was not the only accusation brought against him at this council and triumphantly refuted, for it was stated that he, or Macarius, one of his deacons, had broken a consecrated chalice and the holy table itself, and had thrown the sacred books into the fire : this charge, however, was easily exposed by the Egyptian bishops, who not only alleged the equivocating evidence of the accuser, but also proved that, at the place where their metropolitan was said to have broken the chalice, there was neither chalice, nor altar, nor church in existence.

But it was in vain for Athanasius to establish his innocence ; he had excited the deadly hatred of a faction : in his absence sentence of condemnation was pronounced



upon him ; and, in a letter to the emperor, his enemies reiterated their charges, not excepting that which related to the murder of Arsenius.

From Tyre St Athanasius had proceeded to Constantinople, and demanded a hearing of the emperor, who was over all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil supreme. His accusers were summoned before Constantine ; where Athanasius was himself to be taken by surprise. They accused him of having detained at Alexandria the corn of Egypt, intended to supply the new capital of Constantinople. The charge was cleverly laid. It was a tender point with Constantine. He had lately beheaded the philosopher Sopater on the mere suspicion of his having stopped these supplies. St Athanasius, as we have said, was taken by surprise. The falsehood was so bold that he could not have anticipated it. He asked for time to prove the injustice of the charge, and declared his entire innocence : but the emperor was enraged, the protestations of Athanasius were disregarded, and he was banished to Treves.

At Treves he was honourably received by the younger Constantine, who, with Maximinus, the bishop, warmly espoused his cause : and when, in 337, Constantine died, Constans, another son of the emperor, had declared in his favour. It is said that the dying Constantine desired that he should be restored to his church, and, therefore, although Alexandria was under the jurisdiction of the semi-Arian Constantius, he unwillingly consented. It was on this occasion that Constantius requested Athanasius to grant to the Arians one church in Alexandria, which was met by a request from the patriarch, proposing a similar concession to the Catholics of Antioch, and this Constantius refused to grant, lest it should be the ruin of the Arian cause in that city. That the emperor should make and be refused such a request, shews the moral power which the patriarch wielded. The entrance indeed of Athanasius into Alexandria was a triumphal procession ; absence and persecution had yet more endeared him to a people who loved him for the justice with which he had

presided over their affairs, and who were proud in having for their archbishop the defender of orthodoxy throughout the world.

But the triumph was of short duration. Constantius and his court were ready to act with the Arians : and the low church party only watched for the opportunity which presented itself, when ninety-seven bishops, all Arians or Arianizers, assembled at Antioch, to attend the consecration of the great church called the *Dominicum Aureum*. They formed themselves into a council, and to conciliate the western church, they drew up four or even five creeds resembling the orthodox language ; and then proceeded to their immediate object, the ratification of the synods of *Cesarea* and *Tyre*, in the condemnation of *Athanasius*. They moreover consecrated one *Gregory*, a *Cappadocian*, as archbishop of *Alexandria*, in his place. But it was only by force of arms that they could establish the usurper on his throne, and in *Alexandria* churches were burnt, Catholics murdered, and by pagans the mysteries of the altar were trodden under foot.

In the meantime *Athanasius* fled to *Rome* ; where, by *Julius*, the bishop of *Rome*, he and those who accompanied him, were received with the honour due to one so distinguished for virtue as well as station. The first act of *Julius* was to hold a provincial council, which pronounced the charges against *Athanasius* to be untenable ; his next was to advocate the summoning of a council of the whole Church, for the same purpose ; referring it to *Athanasius* to select the place of meeting, where his cause might be secure of a more impartial hearing than it had met with at *Cesarea* and *Tyre*.

*Sardica* was chosen as the place of meeting, as lying on the confines of the two dominions of the empire, and there, in the year 347, were assembled 380 bishops, of whom 76 were Arian. The Arians being in possession of so many sees, and assuming that the formularies of the Church were consistent with their opinions, remained externally in communion with the Church, just as in our

days is the case with respect to those who deny baptismal grace, and the other doctrines of our prayer book. But the Arian bishops, on finding that St Athanasius was to attend the council, seceded from it; they were determined not to perceive what would have been the fact, had their request for his exclusion been granted, viz: that to have excluded him would have been to prejudge his cause, especially as the council held at Rome, which was as competent to decide the question as the councils of Cesarea and Tyre, had acquitted and restored him. The Arians retired to Philipopolis, and there excommunicated the leaders of the orthodox party; and issued a sixth creed. But the council of Sardica, notwithstanding the secession, proceeded, after patient examination, to confirm the decree of the council of Rome, and to acquit Athanasius.

After the decree of the council, Constans threatened to restore Athanasius, if need should be, by force of arms; and Constantius, who was engaged in a war with the Persians, avoided a quarrel with his brother by acceding to his wishes. Once more, then, in the year 349, was the great patriarch restored to his church and people. Congratulations and professions of attachment poured in upon him from the provinces of the whole Roman world, near and distant. From Africa to Illyricum, and from England to Palestine, 400 episcopal letters solicited his communion and patronage; and apologies, and the officiousness of personal service were liberally tendered by those, who, through cowardice, dulness, or self-interest, had joined themselves to the low or heretical party.

But while churchmen were now hoping for a respite from their sufferings, a blow was struck which involved them in twelve years of most bitter persecution. Constans, having been murdered by Magnentius in Gaul, Constantius became sole emperor, and Athanasius was deprived of a powerful protector. The Arian or low party was now in the ascendant, and a systematic persecution of true churchmen commenced. There was no alternative, except subscription to Arianism, or submission to suffering. On



the ruin of Athanasius, Constantius and the party now in favour at court, were resolutely bent ; for he, by his moral influence and popularity, had been the great obstacle to their success as a party, while with unflinching orthodoxy he was ever ready to oppose their impieties. The authority indeed of Athanasius, the champion of orthodoxy, was such, that the emperor regarded him as the rival of his own sovereignty, and was determined on his destruction. St Athanasius was too great to be a subject : the Church with him at its head must be humbled. But he was too powerful to be attacked at once ; therefore, the Arian party permitted him to remain unmolested for a season ; and he was employed at Alexandria in maintaining the cause of God and of the truth, while they, in the other capitals of Christendom, were carrying on their disturbances. The great object with the Arians and the emperor, was to obtain the condemnation of Athanasius, against whom the most frivolous charges were brought : he was accused of having excited differences between Constantius and his brother ; of having corresponded with Magnentius, the usurper of the West : of having dedicated or used a new church at Alexandria without the emperor's leave, (a strong assertion of the regale,) and of having neglected to obey the imperial mandate summoning him to Italy.

The condemnation of Athanasius was obtained in the council of Milan, his orthodox defenders being sent into exile. Among the exiled prelates was Liberius, bishop of Rome or pope : but he, unable to bear the miseries of exile, apostatized ; and professing Arianism, he was, as an Arian, restored to the see of Rome ; so that the advocates of Romanism are placed in the difficult position of having to defend an infallible head, as they hold, of the Church, which infallible head was involved in a deadly heresy.

Athanasius all this time remained unmoved at the post of duty, and as if no Arian councils were anathematizing him, prosecuted the great work for which, by Divine Providence, he was raised up. In his exertions now he even

surpassed his former self; he was the faithful shepherd of a devoted flock. The services of the Church were diligently attended; alms and benefactions supplied the wants of the friendless and infirm, and for some years, Athanasius was incessant in promoting the holiness of the people committed to his charge.

But at length the storm of persecution burst again upon Athanasius and his faithful churchmen at Alexandria. George, of Cappadocia, was selected by the Arian faction to supplant Athanasius in the see of Alexandria, and to Syrianus, duke of Egypt, was committed the office of placing him on the episcopal throne.

How he executed his office shall be stated by Athanasius himself.

“It was now night,” he says, “and some of our people were keeping vigil, preparatory to receiving the Lord’s supper; when Syrianus suddenly came upon us, with a force of above 5000 men, prepared for attack, with drawn swords, bows, darts, and clubs,....and surrounded the church with close parties of the soldiery, that none might escape from within. There seemed an impropriety in my deserting my congregation in such a riot, instead of hazarding the danger in their stead; so I placed myself in my bishop’s chair, and bade the deacon read the psalm, (Ps. cxxxvi.) and the congregation alternate ‘for His mercy endureth for ever,’ and then all retire and go home. But the general bursting at length into the church, and his soldiers blocking up the chancel, with a view of arresting me, the clergy and some of my people present began in their turn clamorously to urge me to withdraw myself. However, I refused to do so, before one and all in the church were gone. Accordingly, I stood up, and directed the parting prayer to be said; and then I urged them all to depart first, for that it was better that I should run the risk, than any of them suffer. But by the time that most of them were gone out, and the rest were following, the religious brethren and some of the clergy, who were immediately about me, ran up the steps, and dragged me

down. And so, be truth my witness, though the soldiers blockaded the chancel, and were in motion round about the church, the Lord leading, I made my way through them, and by His protection got away unperceived ; glorifying God mightily, that I had been enabled to stand by my people, and even to send them out before me, and yet had escaped in safety from the hands of those who sought me."

The formal protest of the Alexandrian Christians against this outrage, which is still extant, gives, as Mr Newman observes, a stronger and fuller statement of the violences attending it : " While we were watching in prayer," they say, " suddenly about midnight, the most noble duke Syrianus came upon us with a large force of legionaries, with arms, drawn swords, and other military weapons, and their helmets on. The prayers and sacred reading were proceeding, when they assaulted the doors, and, on these being laid open by the force of numbers, he gave the word of command. Upon which, some began to let fly their arrows, and others to sound a charge : and there was a clashing of weapons, and swords glared against the lamplight. Presently, the sacred virgins were slaughtered, numbers trampled down one over another by the rush of the soldiers, and others killed by arrows. Some of the soldiers betook themselves to pillage, and began to strip the females, to whom the very touch of strangers was more terrible than death. Meanwhile, the bishop sat on his throne, exhorting all to pray—He was dragged down, and almost torn to pieces. He swooned away, and became as dead ; we do not know how he got away from them, for they were bent upon killing him."

The first purpose of Athanasius on his escape, was at once to betake himself to Constantius ; and he had begun his journey to him, when news of the fury with which the persecution raged throughout the West, changed his intention. A price was set on his head, and every place was diligently searched in the attempt to find him. He



retired into the wilderness of the Thebaid, then inhabited by the followers of Paul and Anthony, the first hermits. Driven at length thence by the activity of his persecutors, he went through a variety of strange adventures, which lasted for the space of six years, till the death of Constantius allowed him to return to Alexandria.

It was during this time that he composed his most celebrated works, which consist of writings in defence of the faith, and of letters of consolation and advice to the scattered remnants of his flock. By the devotees of the wilderness these were circulated far and wide, though many, while engaged in this duty, were detected and put to death. Nevertheless, the pen of Athanasius was more powerful than the sword of Constantius, and the world beheld with amazement a persecuted individual, from a corner of an unknown desert, defy a monarch who held the empires of the east and west in his sway.

Constantius died in 361. Julian, the apostate, succeeded to the throne. He had apostatized from Christianity; he was a pagan and a liberal, and as a liberal he acted. He recalled all the exiled bishops. St Athanasius returned to Alexandria: the joy of Egypt at his restoration is not to be described: towns were illuminated as he passed through them on his way to the metropolis; and psalms of triumph and thanksgiving resounded through the land. There is a legend which relates that on the death of his persecutor, Athanasius was suddenly found on his episcopal throne in one of the churches of Alexandria. The fact that this was believed, shews the opinion entertained of his foresight and energy of character.

But though restored to his throne, St Athanasius was not restored to peace. The emperor Julian was bent on the restoration of paganism as the established religion. He saw that the surest way to injure the Church was to foment divisions among Christians; and by recalling the exiled bishops, whose places had been supplied by Arians, he hoped to involve the Church in inextricable confusion. But, says St Gregory, of Nazianzum, "the conduct of

Athanasius on his restoration displayed a wisdom beyond all praise. Far from indulging any resentments against his adversaries, he conducted himself towards them with the utmost moderation. He thought only of appeasing enmities, conciliating differences, and holding out the hand of charity even to those who sought to injure him. He administered succour to the necessitous, without making any distinction between those of the evangelical faith, and those who dissented from it. Jews and pagans were equally objects of his charity; it was enough for him that they stood in need of it. He applied himself to the extension of the holy doctrines with all the zeal for which he was always remarkable; corresponding with some, entering into conferences with others, but leaving entire liberty to all, being persuaded that it was the best means of bringing into the way of truth the greater number of souls. Insomuch that it might be said of him, that, participating the nature of the loadstone, he attracted to himself those whose nature partook of the harshness of iron."

But though charitable to all men, he could not sacrifice his principles. The pagan priests complained. What the emperor Julian sought to promote, the holy Athanasius resolutely opposed, the restoration of pagan rites within the city. Common humanity would have impelled Athanasius to this course; for among the superstitions of paganism, one was to slay young infants, in order that the augurs might divine from inspection of the entrails and the taste of the liver. When the pagan priests complained, the nature of Julian's liberality displayed itself in its true colours; he ordered Athanasius to be put to death. And once more had the illustrious patriarch to betake himself to the desert, and to seek a residence among the followers of Anthony and Pachomius.

On the death of Julian the apostate, in 363, St Athanasius was again restored to his church, with every mark of respect; but the gleam of sunshine was but of short duration; for the emperor Jovian, dying in February,

364, and Valens, to whom Valentinian assigned the empire of the east, being an Arian, an edict was published in 367, for displacing those bishops who, having been exiled by Constantius, had been restored by Julian and Jovian. St Athanasius had once more to conceal himself; he was hidden for four months in the tomb of his father at the gates of the city of Alexandria. But the Alexandrian people were now determined no longer to permit the venerable years of their much loved patriarch to be disturbed. They armed in his defence. The prefect feared to proceed against them; and Valens, at length yielding to the wishes of the people, gave orders that he should be no more molested.

The remainder of this great man's life was passed in comparative peace, and of peaceful years the historian has little to say. But of the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, we may judge from the following extract from one of the many letters addressed to him by Basil, surnamed the great. "While others have enough to watch over in themselves, your good offices are diffused over all. You take as much care of the universal Church as I do of the single one which the Lord hath thought fit to confide to me. You speak, you extract, you write; you send from all parts men who teach us what is best to be done in the deplorable circumstances in which we find ourselves placed."

St Athanasius died on the second of May, 372. It has been well remarked of St Athanasius, that although the scenes in which he was most intimately engaged, were not the most favourable to spiritual religion, yet a love of communion with God, and a relish for that experience which is concealed from the world, a divine thirst for the vitality of the gospel, are conspicuous through his writings. Parts of Scripture considered least interesting by those who have no taste for the hidden manna, were evidently dearest to St Athanasius. The psalms of David proved a paradise of sweets wherein his soul renewed her strength, when wearied with the toil of repressing gainsayers, or



establishing the outworks of Christianity. At those fountains of life, which have refreshed the saints in each succeeding generation, he drank both often and deep. No contrast can be stronger than that presented between the comportment of himself and his opposers. Worldly mindedness, emulation, and pride, produced in them their concomitant consequences, which threw into splendid relief the self-denial, the uprightness, the humility of the Nicene champion. They relied on the court and the emperor; St Athanasius depended upon heaven and the merits of his cause: they pretended to fathom every abyss of Scripture, and to define with intelligible exactness, the nature as well as the existence of God; he confessed the original ignorance of his heart, and insisted on the necessity of illumination from above. He reverently spake of God as He is revealed to us, the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, co-equally and co-eternally constituting the Trinity in Unity; but while he guarded against the equivocations, by which it was sought to evade this article of our faith, he sought not to render intelligible what must always be a mystery to finite minds.

His works have a peculiar value, as to the Church universal, so especially to the church of England at the present time. Besides the grand fundamental doctrine, to the maintenance of which he devoted his life, we find him speaking of the efficacy of baptism, while he rejects that of heretics: we find him speaking of the Real Presence in the Eucharist; but we find in his works nothing that asserts the doctrine of transubstantiation, a doctrine not invented till long after his time: he acknowledges the Holy Scriptures to be the rule of faith, and makes use of tradition, not to supersede, but to interpret it. He observes, contrary to the present Romish doctrine of developments, that the faith is always the same, that it does not change, and that councils do nothing but declare what has been from the beginning the doctrine of the Church: he teaches that the soul of our blessed Saviour, without dissolving the union with his divinity, descended

into hell, to fetch thence the souls of the just, and also the souls of those who lived well under the law of nature, and were there in sorrow waiting for their deliverance. As to discipline, we find from his works that the Communion was in his time administered in both kinds; that priests only consecrated; that the Eucharist was often offered on an Altar of wood; that the Mysteries or Holy Sacraments, instead of being celebrated, as they are now in Romish countries, in the eyes of all, were hid from the catechumens and the gentiles; that the faithful assembled in churches, where they were a long time at their prayers; that monks were subject to their bishops, from whose jurisdiction, in Romish countries, they are now exempt; that they were not shut up in monasteries; that there was no constrained celibacy of the clergy, bishops as well as priests having wives, though celibacy was considered the preferable state; that churches were duly consecrated and treated with reverence; that there were fonts in churches; that the bishop sat in a chair raised on high, which was called the episcopal throne; that the bishops made visitations of their dioceses; that they received not in the offertory the offerings of the impious, but only those of the righteous; that they fasted in Lent, and kept Easter with great solemnity; and that they used the prayers of the Church, and read the holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, which the people understood.—*Dupin*. Newman's *Hist. of the Arians* Bridge's *Roman Empire under Constantine*. Tillemont. Maimbourg's *History of Arianism*. Benedictine *Life of St Athanasius*. Cave's *Life. Eusebius*. Socrates. Sozomen. Theodoret. Hamond's *Canons*.

ATHELARD, or EDELRED, fourteenth archbishop of Canterbury, of whom the following account is given by Godwin:—"Athelard was first abbot of Malmesbury, then bishop of Winchester, and lastly made archbishop anno 793. Offa soon after this being dead, together with his Egfride; Athelard made earnest suit to Kenulfe, the son

of Cuthbert, then king of Mercia, that he would restore to the see of Canterbury the revenues and jurisdiction taken from it wrongfully by Offa: hereunto Kenulfus, without much ado, readily assented, as also Leo III who was then pope. He sat about eight or nine years, and dying the year 806, was buried in Christchurch, to the great discontentment of the monks of St Augustines."

ATHELRED, eighteenth archbishop of Canterbury, of whom Godwin thus writes:—"Athelredus, a great divine, sometimes a monk of Christchurch in Canterbury, and then bishop of Winchester, was archbishop after Celnoth eighteen years. In his time all the monasteries of England were destroyed by the Danes, so as, for the space of ninety years after, monkery ceased throughout the realm; yea in the north parts there were not seen any, either monk or nun, in two hundred years after, viz: until about the middle of the reign of William the Conqueror. Married priests every where inhabited monasteries, whence for a long time after with much ado they were hardly removed. Athelredus (as in a manner all his successors) was buried in his church of Christ in Canterbury."

ATHELM, twentieth archbishop of Canterbury, for an account of whom we are again indebted to Godwin:—"Athelm, who had been abbot of Glastonbury, and was appointed the first bishop of Wells, was chosen to succeed Plegmund in Canterbury. William of Malmesbury saith that this archbishop laid the first foundation of the abbey of Malmesbury: but it seems to be more ancient than so. He sat nine years, died anno 924, and was buried with his predecessors."

ATHENAGORAS: an Athenian philosopher, who, in early life, became a Christian, and published about the year 177 an apology for the Christian religion, addressed to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and his son Commodus. He



also wrote a treatise on the resurrection of the dead. The treatise on the resurrection has been translated into many modern languages, an English version having been published in 1573, and another with the apology, by David Humphreys, in 1714. The best editions of the originals are that by Edward Dechair, Greek and Latin. Oxford, 1706 ; and another by Linder, with notes. Leips. 1774.

ATKINS, ETKINS, or AITKINS, JAMES, was born at Kirkwall, and having received his primary education at Edinburgh, removed to Oxford, where he studied under Dr Prideaux. Returning to Scotland, he became chaplain to the marquis of Hamilton, while he was his majesty's commissioner to the assembly in 1638 ; in which station he behaved so well that, upon the marquis's return to England, he procured from the king a presentation for Atkins to the church of Birsá in Orkney, in which office he gained the general esteem of all persons. In the beginning of the year 1650, when the marquis of Montrose landed in that country, Atkins was unanimously named by the brethren to draw up a declaration in their and his own name, and which, by their consent and approbation, was published ; containing very strong expressions of loyalty, and a determination firmly to adhere to their dutiful allegiance. For this step, the whole presbytery being deposed by the general assembly, Atkins was excommunicated for having conversed with the marquis of Montrose, and the council issued out an order for apprehending him. But, by private notice from his kinsman, sir Archibald Primrose, afterwards lord-register, at that time clerk to the council, he fled into Holland, where he remained till the year 1653 ; when, returning into his native country, he transported his family from Orkney to Edinburgh, and resided there in obscurity until the restoration, and then he went to London in company with bishop Sydeserf, (the only surviving prelate in Scotland,) to congratulate the king's majesty. At this time the bishop of Winchester presented him to

the rectory of Winfrith in Dorsetshire: there he continued till the year 1677, when he was elected and consecrated bishop of Moray; but he was translated from this in the year 1680 to the see of Galloway. On his translation he received a dispensation to reside at Edinburgh, the reason assigned being, that it was unreasonable to oblige a prelate of his years to reside among such rebellious and turbulent people as those of his diocese were, they being chiefly presbyterians, the effects of whose furious zeal had “often appeared in their affronting, beating, robbing, wounding, and often murdering the curates.” He, nevertheless, so carefully governed the diocese, partly by his letters, and partly by a journey he made thither, that, “had he resided on the place, better order and discipline could scarce be expected.” At the same time we cannot but admit that, if he was prevented from residing by fear, he was not influenced by the spirit of a primitive bishop. He died at Edinburgh, 28th of October, 1687, aged seventy-four.—Keith’s *Scottish Bishops*.

ATTERBURY, FRANCIS. The life of bishop Atterbury is chiefly interesting from the part he bore in the last convocations of the church of England, which were held for the dispatch of business. He was born on the 16th of March, 1662-3, at Milton Keynes, near Newport-Pagnell, Bucks, of which parish his father, a worthy, well-meaning, though rather worldly man, was rector. He was educated under Dr Busby, at Westminster, and was elected, as a student, to Christchurch in 1680. He took his degree of B.A. in 1684, and that of M. A. in 1687; he resided at Christchurch as a tutor till 1691. His application to study was intense; and to his classical, mathematical, and theological studies, he added the cultivation of polite literature. In 1682 he published a Latin version of Dryden’s *Absalom and Ahithophel*; and, in 1684, he edited the Latin poems of some Italian writers, with a preface, which was afterwards alluded to with high praise, by Dr Johnson, to whom the name of the editor was at that time unknown. He

appeared as a theological writer in 1687, when he published an answer to a work entitled "Some considerations on the spirit of Martin Luther and the original of the reformation," which had been published under the name of Abraham Woodhead, a distinguished Roman Catholic controversialist of the day, but of which the real author was Obadiah Walker, master of University college. This work is remarkable, because when Atterbury was on his trial, his counsel, Mr Wynne, referred to it as a proof that he was not popishly inclined, declaring that Atterbury was "*the only clergyman in England that ever thought it worth his while to draw his pen in defence of Martin Luther.*" In this work Atterbury very justly remarked, "Let the spirit of Martin Luther be as evil as 'tis supposed to be, yet the truth of this would not blast one single truth of that religion he professed." The religion professed by Luther must be judged of by other principles; and the observation here made by Atterbury must be considered as applicable to the present work, in which we fearlessly record the faults as well as the virtues of divines, whether Romanists or Reformers, independent of any approval or disapproval of the principles they professed.

The character of Atterbury while resident in the university, was that of a learned, active, useful, and ambitious young man: he made himself serviceable to his house, was of much assistance to the dean, was vigilant as censor, and was industrious as a tutor. We look in vain for any indications of a recollected temper and devotional spirit. The routine of college duties as a tutor, although pleasant at first to those who desire to impress more deeply on their minds the instructions they have themselves received, by conveying them to others, and who are happy in being professionally employed in early manhood, become afterwards monotonous and wearisome. We are not to be surprised, therefore, that Atterbury, as he approached his thirtieth year, should be wearied of his calling; especially as he was influenced less by the religious sense of doing cheerfully that which God gave him to do, than by the



desire of distinguishing himself in the world. His worldly distinction was indeed one great object with his father, who only differed from his son, when the latter began to complain, in thinking that it was inexpedient to quit his post at Oxford, until some other more eligible situation might offer itself. His father, in his worldly wisdom, suggested to young Atterbury the expediency, if he desired to leave the university, of "*matching*;" "there is no way," he said, "of preferment like that of marrying into some family of interest." And his son was not slow in taking the hint, for he soon after married Miss Osborne, a niece of the duke of Leeds, a great beauty, and possessed of a fortune of seven thousand pounds.

In 1691 Atterbury, now a married man, left the university, and in the same year was ordained and appointed to the lectureship of St Bride's church, in London, to which was added, in 1693, the preachiership at Bridewell chapel. He now became a most popular preacher, and seems to have adopted all the arts of the orator, delivering his sermons not extempore but memoriter; an account of his style of preaching is given in the Tatler, No. 66. He was soon after appointed chaplain to William and Mary; and in November, 1698, he became preacher at the rolls.

During this period of his life he was attacked by Benjamin Hoadley, afterwards, to the disgrace of the Church, appointed to the see of Winchester, though suspected of the most deadly heresy. Atterbury had preached a sermon on the power of charity to cover sins, in Bridewell chapel, in which he had expressed himself, as a London popular preacher might be expected to do, without sufficient caution. He certainly laid himself open to attack, but the animadversions of Hoadley appeared, though clever, to have been captious. In the same year he was also warmly assailed for a sermon preached before the queen at Whitehall, entitled "The scorner incapable of true wisdom," in which it was supposed that there was an implied attack upon the orthodoxy of archbishops Tillotson and Tenison. It was immediately and violently censured in a pamphlet,

the object of which is sufficiently denoted by its title ; “ A Two-fold Vindication of the late archbishop of Canterbury, and of the author of the History of Religion, the first part defending the said author against the defamations of Mr Francis Atterbury’s sermon, and both these eminent persons against a traitorous libel, entitled, *The charge of Socinianism against Dr Tillotson considered* ; in two letters to the honourable sir R. H ; the second containing remarks on the said sermon, and a reply to the same libel, wherein some right is done to that great and good man Dr Tillotson, in the points of the original of sacrifices, the sacrifices of Christ, future punishments, &c : and a word in defence of the eminent bishop of Salisbury. By another hand.” Sir R. H. refers to sir Robert Howard, who fiercely replied to his assailant.

The attacks thus made upon Atterbury are sufficient to shew that he already occupied a place in public estimation, which made his opinions worthy of consideration ; and the activity, as well as the controversial temper of his mind, is evinced by his having been involved in the polemics of literature, as well as in those of theology. In the celebrated Bentley and Boyle controversy, he had a large share in the authorship of the “ Answer to Bentley’s Dissertation on Phalaris.” He asserts, indeed, that he “ laid the design of the book, wrote above half of it, reviewed a good part of the rest, and transcribed the whole.”

At the end of the year, 1699, commenced the controversy respecting convocations, which occupied the time and thoughts of Atterbury for the next ten years. The clergy of England, from early times, have possessed the right of sitting in convocation with their bishops, to agree to any canons which the latter may propose, to make alterations, if needful, in the services of the Church, and to prevent undue encroachment upon their rights and property. When the immense power of the bishops is considered, this part of our ecclesiastical constitution seems

to be reasonable. It was by convocation that the supremacy of the pope over our beloved church was renounced in 1533; and it was by convocation that the thirty-nine articles were received as binding, (not indeed upon our church, for the laity are not called upon to receive them, but upon our clergy,) in 1562. For our prayer book, as at present altered from the ancient services of our church, the consent of convocation was required, ere the sanction of parliament was obtained. *The very existence of convocation, without which no alterations can take place in fundamentals,*—may be appealed to, to shew that the church of England is not what our enemies would represent it to be, and what, if the clergy be not vigilant, false friends may soon make it, an act of parliament establishment. *The mere calling of a convocation,* though it is gagged by the state, is a silent testimony to the fact, that there is a power which must be appealed to, ere an attempt is made to alter the church of England in fundamentals; and it serves as a check upon the unholy zeal of those members of our church who would sacrifice truth to expediency, the principles of the Church to the extension of the establishment.

The necessity on the part of the state of calling convocations, ceased in 1664, when, by a private agreement between archbishop Sheldon and lord chancellor Clarendon, it was agreed, that the clergy should silently waive the privilege of taxing their own body, and permit themselves to be included in the money bills of the commons; “the greatest alteration in the constitution,” remarks bishop Gibson, “that ever took place without an express law.” But what is considered law and justice for other subjects of the British empire, is not always considered law and justice for the clergy.

Such was the state of things at the revolution. At that time, the lower house of convocation gave deadly offence to archbishop Tillotson and the ruling powers in the state, by standing manfully by their holy mother, the Church,



when archbishop Tillotson and his revolutionary suffragans, with some honourable exceptions, desired to reduce our catholic church to the position of a mere protestant sect; when they sought to revolutionize the Church as well as the state, and to conciliate dissenters, and so add to the numerical strength of the establishment, by erasing every catholic feature from our church. To that convocation the church of England owes an endless debt of gratitude: but its firmness of principle made Tillotson aware, that he must act in things spiritual on principles he would condemn in affairs of state; and although he would have rebelled against a sovereign who should seek to govern the nation without a parliament, he saw no harm in seeking to govern the Church without a convocation.

In censuring Tillotson, no censure is implied upon later archbishops: they have inherited the practice of governing the Church without convocations: the subject has come before them, not in the shape of encroachment upon the rights of the clergy, but in the shape of a question whether those rights, admitted to exist, shall in their time be exercised. It is very different with respect to him who first invades a right. Of all functionaries, ecclesiastical or civil, the low church bishop is generally the most despotic in his proceedings, and the most tyrannical in his temper. An infidel as to the divine right of his order, he magnifies his secular authority; and, while he scoffs at rubrics and despises canons, he is insolent to his clergy, and enforces the penalties of each violated act of parliament with the zeal of an officer of police. Such we generally find to be the case; and it is because the bench of bishops was occupied, through the influence of the revolutionary government, at the beginning of the last century, by low church bishops, that we are able to account for, though by no means to justify, the angry feelings with which they were met by the other clergy when convocation assembled. The principles which bishops ought to have held were repudiated; some of their lordships were

suspected of heresy, and the clergy were treated with insolence.

In the excited feelings of the clergy, the impetuous and intriguing spirit of Atterbury found the materials for agitation. Though their principles were right, their conduct, under such guidance, became wrong; whereas the bishops, though (speaking of the majority,) void of church principles, acted with calmness and dignity,—and the result has been, the discontinuance of convocations, and the reduction of our church to an episcopal despotism in which the clergy are never consulted. Had the rights of the clergy been maintained, and convocations continued, we should never have witnessed an ecclesiastical commission, consisting of bishops and laymen, to deal with the rights, privileges, and property of the clergy generally,—an order of men not represented in the commission, and the only class of persons thus treated in her majesty's dominions. Meantime, the clergy love their church the more, and thank their God, that in spite of all these disadvantages, she still retains her church character, and may, they hope, be destined to hold a distinguished station among the churches of Christ, in the midst of that “falling away,” which is to precede the coming of our Lord.

Tenison succeeded Tillotson in the primacy, in 1694, and was prepared to pursue the same policy as his predecessor, being desirous of deferring a convocation till, in his own words to Prideaux, “the clergy were in better temper.” He advised the crown not to permit the convocation to act; the clergy justly complained; and it was under these circumstances that in 1697 appeared the celebrated letter to a convocation man, which was supposed to be written by Dr Binks. In this work it was maintained that the clergy have a right to meet in synods according to the canons of the Christian Church and the constitution of this realm; that they have a right to assemble in convocation as often as a new parliament meets and sits, and that they have a right to treat and deliberate concerning such affairs

as lie within their proper sphere, without a license under the broad seal. This work was answered by Dr Wake, in "The authority of Christian princes over ecclesiastical synods," also published in 1697; and likewise by a lawyer, Mr Wright, in "A letter to a member of parliament, occasioned by a letter to a convocation man." Wake was answered by Mr Hall, in his "Municipium Ecclesiasticum," in which Wake is charged with betraying the rights of the Church; and in 1698 Wake noticed the arguments of Hall, in "An appeal to all true members of the church of England, in behalf of the king's ecclesiastical supremacy."

Such was the state of the controversy when, as an antagonist of Wake, Atterbury appeared in the field, and published "The rights, powers, and privileges of an English convocation stated and vindicated, in answer to a late book of Dr Wake's, entitled, &c." This was published in the year 1700, and was the result of the studies of three or four years: "It has so happened," says the author, "that upon the calling of a new parliament, the writ for the province of York has been dropped; through forgetfulness, no doubt; however, for the same reason, it may so happen again, when another parliament is called, that the province of Canterbury may be forgotten too." The sensation caused by this powerful work, in which the rights of the clergy were maintained, was such, that the judges were consulted upon it, forasmuch as it was supposed to trench upon the royal prerogative. Lord chief justice Holt and archbishop Tenison were anxious to have the work censured; but Atterbury at this time escaped the honour of being persecuted. It is impossible to give, within our prescribed limits, a full account of the controversy which ensued, and which gave rise to the publication of works, many of them of great value, as historical documents, to the ecclesiastical historian, and possessing a place in the standard literature of the Church. Dean Kennett, Dr Hody, and Dr Wake, distinguished



themselves in this controversy, while Atterbury was not without support even on the episcopal bench; sir Jonathan Trelawny, then bishop of Exeter, became his patron, and bishops Compton and Sprat extended to him their protection. The result of his labour was, the meeting of convocation in 1700, for the despatch of business. "To Atterbury's book," says Leslie, in "The case of the regale," "we chiefly owe the present convocation."

In the convocation of the province of York, there is but one house, the bishops and other clergy sitting together: that of Canterbury consists of two houses; the upper composed of the archbishop and the suffragans of his province, (and before the reformation the mitred abbots;) the lower, of deans, archdeacons, and proctors, or representatives from each chapter and diocese. The great object now was to make the convocation an efficient body, to give it a share in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and to cause it to be collateral with parliament. This was the last attempt in behalf of the clergy of England; and it may be said to have failed chiefly through the litigious disposition of Atterbury, who had the chief management of the convocation, and who permitted, too often, a factious spirit among the members. The lower house suffered itself to be led into the serious error of acting upon expediency rather than upon principle, and of permitting political feeling to influence them. The clergy of England have never assumed the right, except at this period, of acting independently of their bishops; they only claim to be consulted, and not to have their rights or property taken from them without their consent. But at this time, the whigs, who were in power, were known to be hostile to the Church, and had given proof of their desire to presbyterianize the establishment; whereas, the policy of the tories was to uphold the Church. The upper house, consisting of the bishops, was, of course, under the influence of revolutionary and whig principles, the party in power having the appointment to the episco-

pal office : in them, therefore, the majority of the clergy and laity of the church of England had no confidence, and in order to support the tory party and the Church, as it was supposed, against the bishops, an attempt was made to render the lower house of convocation independent of the upper house, just as the house of commons is independent of the house of lords : that is, that the members of the lower house should adjourn by their own authority, apart from the upper house, where and to such time as they should think fit ; that they should originate measures, and act, not merely as advisers to the upper house, but, as it would seem, as persons having concurrent jurisdiction. The upper house insisted that the ancient usage, which had been all along continued, was, that the archbishop, as president of the convocation, should adjourn both houses together and at the same time ; this adjournment being signified by schedule sent down to the lower house. They would not permit any other practice. But, as in a dispute, there will generally be some just ground of complaint on both sides, so the lower house, as even those who supported the bishops on the main question were ready to admit, might justly feel aggrieved, when the bishops required that the lower house should break up the instant the schedule came down to them, and appoint no committees to sit and act in the intermediate days ; for, as Dr Prideaux, one of the moderate party, remarks, “ as the bishops usually break up very early, to attend the service of the house of lords in parliament, and then send down the schedule of adjournment to the lower house, if, on the receipt of this schedule, the lower house must immediately break up also, what time could they have to despatch the business before them ? ”

It will not be possible, within the limits of this article, to give the detailed history of the proceedings of the convocations of the first seventeen years of the last century, especially as the precise part taken by Atterbury cannot be pointed out, although he is known to have been the moving spirit of the lower house. In Mr Lathbury's able

and impartial "History of convocation," the reader will find a condensed account, and in Cardwell's "Synodalia," he will find the official documents of these convocations. It is sufficient to state, that in every detail the attentive reader will discover an attempt to establish the independence of the lower house on the one side, and a determination to resist it on the other: this was the real end and object of the warfare. And certainly, if the lower house had carried its point, the injury done to the Church would have been great: episcopacy would have been reduced to a mere name, and our condition at the present time would have been deplorable. However zealous we may be for maintaining the rights and privileges of the second order of the ministry, however watchful against the manœuvres by which at any time the mere establishmentarian prelates may seek, through parliament, to obtain powers which do not pertain to them through the Church, and to reduce themselves to the condition of mere functionaries of the state,—nothing can justify the second order of the clergy in attempting to act otherwise than as advisers and counsellors to their spiritual fathers.

It is, however, an act of justice to Atterbury, to state what was considered by himself and those whom he represented, as the legitimate powers of a convocation; and we may perceive from this statement how beneficially convocation might be made to act at the present time. Of the convocation summoned for 1710, Atterbury was chosen prolocutor, in opposition to Kennett, who came forward in the low church interest; and Atterbury was now consulted by the ministry, the tories being in power, as to the course to be adopted in ecclesiastical affairs. To his influence is to be attributed the letter addressed by queen Anne to the archbishop, in which she expressed her hope that convocation would be able to repress the loose principles which had been broached, intimating that she would afford them every encouragement in her power. On the 23rd of January a license for transacting business was issued, by which the convocation was empowered to consider such



matters as the queen should submit to their notice. It was accompanied by a letter to the archbishop, stating that the convocation was allowed to confer, treat, debate, and consult and agree upon matters to be laid before them. It also contained certain heads of subjects to be laid before the convocation : they were these :—

“The drawing-up a representation of the present state of religion among us, with regard to the late excessive growth of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness.

“The regulating the proceedings in excommunications, and reforming the abuses of commutation money.

“The preparing a form for the visitation of prisoners, and particularly condemned persons. For admitting converts from the church of Rome, and such as shall renounce their errors. For restoring those who have relapsed.

“The establishing rural deans, where they are not, and rendering them more useful where they are.

“The making provision for preserving and transmitting more exact terriers, and accounts of glebes, tithes, and other possessions and profits belonging to benefices.

“The regulating licenses for matrimony, according to the canon, in order to the more effectual preventing of clandestine marriages.”

The letter was dated the 29th of January, 1710, from St James's palace.

All this was perfectly satisfactory, but Atterbury's party feeling betrayed itself by a change which was introduced into the license, in which the archbishop was not, as usual, nominated president, nor indeed was he consulted previously to its publication. Certain bishops were also mentioned as a quorum, before whom it was understood that all matters were to be brought. An explanation was naturally required with reference to this innovation ; the records were searched, and a report submitted to the queen, after which a message was returned, to the effect that she did not intend that the bishops named as a quorum should preside over, or have a negative, in their proceedings.

The convocation, after this, entered upon the matters submitted to them in the queen's letter. In the lower house the state of the Church was the question first agitated. It was agreed that a representation on the subject should be drawn up, but after a little discussion, the whole business was left to Atterbury, who drew up a paper in which the administration ever since the revolution, was reflected on in terms of great severity. It was carried, as a matter of course, in the lower house; and also, as a matter of course, it was rejected by the bishops, who ordered another to be prepared in more general terms.

The topics recommended by the queen were considered by the upper house, and certain regulations founded upon them were adopted. A report was agreed upon by both houses respecting excommunications and the commutation of penance; also concerning services, glebes, and tithes.

We shall present the reader with an account of the proceedings with respect to rural deans, although the quotation will occupy considerable space. This little work is written, not for futurity, or as a literary labour, but to give information to those who have not a command of books, and it is designed for the present generation. What will interest or be beneficial to the present generation is especially produced; and to censure the writer for making the work too much of a periodical, is to censure him for doing that which he intends to do, and which he is aware would be objectionable in a work of a more pretending character. The narrative now about to be quoted, is produced because the readers, for whom this little work is intended, will be interested in learning *how* business was conducted when convocation was in action; and because it may be useful to let people understand how the constitution of the church of England has been, on some points, tacitly changed during the last century and a half. At the present time, a bishop appoints his rural deans without any reference to the wishes of the clergy; but in so doing he certainly is not acting according to the principles

of the established church, as will be seen from the report of the proceedings of both houses of convocation in 1710, on rural deans. The report is as follows :

The upper house having considered the report made from the committee of both houses appointed to consider of establishing rural deans, where they are not, and making them more useful, where they are, is come to the following resolutions :—

It is the opinion of this house, that the number and extent of rural deanries may best continue according to the ancient division established by law and custom.

That a canon or constitution shall be drawn up declaring the office and powers of a rural dean ; as particularly to inquire into the manners of the clergy and people, to visit and examine the state of parochial churches and chapels, with the chancels of the same, together with the ornaments and utensils thereunto belonging, as also the manses of rectors and vicars, and all ecclesiastical endowments ; to inquire into the condition of schools, hospitals, parochial libraries, and the several gifts and legacies bequeathed to pious and charitable uses ; and after such due inquiries, to represent yearly to the bishop, or to the archdeacon, or other ordinary, any notorious crimes, scandals, errors, or defects in ecclesiastical matters or persons within the district of the said deanry, to be by them transmitted to the bishop ; that so, if upon private admonition there does not follow a due reformation, then legal process may issue thereupon.

That in every diocese the persons to be appointed to the office of rural deans, shall be beneficed within the deanry, as rectors, vicars, or perpetual curates, and shall be resident upon their respective benefices or cures ; men of the elder and graver sort of the clergy, and graduates in one of the two universities within this province.

That the clergy of every deanry, or the greater part of them, shall choose a person thus qualified, who shall be presented by the archdeacon or other ordinary to the bishop for his approbation ; and when approved, shall be



appointed by the bishop under his hand to execute the said office for the term of three years, unless cause should appear to the bishop for altering the said term.

That a paper of instructions from the bishop shall be given to every rural dean so appointed, as above, without fee or reward, directing him how and in what manner to exercise that office ; and that every dean so appointed, shall solemnly promise in the presence of the bishop, or any other person appointed by him, to execute the said office according to such instructions to the best of his skill and power.

That it would be proper to consider, whether any privileges, or profits can be restored or conveyed to rural deans, to encourage them in the better execution of their office ; as how far it may be practicable, that the rural deans shall be the only surrogates within their own district, to be appointed by the chancellors, or other judges ecclesiastical ; and that the mandates of inductions be directed to the rural dean, to be executed by him, or any other neighbouring minister ; and that the said rural deans be first nominated in all writs of inquiry ‘ *De jure patronatus*, ’ in sequestrations, and in all other commissions to be issued from the bishop or ecclesiastical court, relating to any persons or matters within their respective districts ; and that in all testimonials required by the bishop or other ordinary, relating to the abilities and manners of candidates for holy orders, curates, schoolmasters, or others within their said districts, a more particular regard shall be had to the testimony of rural deans.

Nevertheless in those dioceses of this province, wherein rural deans have been hitherto constantly kept up with good effect, and in which the custom time out of mind hath been to choose, appoint, or admit them in other manner, or for a longer or shorter term, than is before-mentioned ; it is hereby intended, that the ancient custom of such dioceses, as to the manner of the appointment and admission, and the term or their continuance in office, be still observed, unless the respective bishops of

such dioceses shall think fit with the consent of the clergy to alter the same.

“The lower house having considered the report from the committee of both houses relating to the establishment of rural deans, &c. and the paper sent down to them by your lordships upon that report, do agree to the first and third paragraphs of that paper without any alteration. [April 16. M.DCC.XI.]

“The second paragraph they desire may be thus amended:—

“That a canon or constitution should be drawn up, declaring the office and power of a rural dean; as particularly to inquire into the manners of the clergy and people, into the condition of schools, hospitals, parochial libraries, and the several gifts and legacies bequeathed to pious and charitable uses; and when duly commissioned by the bishop, or archdeacon, or other ordinary, to visit and examine the state of parochial churches and chapels with the chancels of the same, together with the ornaments and utensils thereunto belonging, as also the manses of rectors and vicars, and all ecclesiastical endowments; and after such due inquiries, to represent to the bishop, or to the archdeacon, or other ordinary any notorious crimes, scandals, errors, or defects in ecclesiastical matters or persons within the district of the said deanry, that<sup>so</sup>, if upon private admonition there doth not follow a due reformation, then legal process may issue thereupon.

“The fourth paragraph they desire may be thus amended:

“That a person so qualified for the office of a rural dean, shall be recommended by the archdeacons, having jurisdiction, to the bishops for their approbation; and where there are no archdeacons having jurisdiction, shall be nominated by the bishops; and when so approved or nominated shall be appointed by the bishops under their hands to execute the said office for the term of three years, unless great cause shall appear to the bishops, and

archdeacons having jurisdiction, or to the bishops, where there are no archdeacons with jurisdiction, for displacing them sooner.

“The fifth paragraph they desire may be thus amended :

“That every rural dean so appointed, shall in the presence of the bishop, or some person by him deputed, solemnly promise to execute his office faithfully to the best of his skill and power.

“To what was proposed in the sixth paragraph, the lower house return answer, that they are of opinion, that the privileges and profits therein mentioned may properly be restored or conveyed to rural deans ; but desire that these amendments may be made in that paragraph ; videlicet, that the words ‘shall be only surrogates,’ be changed into these words ‘shall be always surrogates.’

“And that the words, ‘the mandates of induction be directed to the rural dean to be executed by him, or any other neighbouring minister,’ be changed into these words, ‘the archdeacon’s mandates of induction, or the mandate of the bishop, where the archdeacon hath no right to induct, be directed to the rural deans, and to any other rector, vicar, or perpetual curate within his deanry.’

“Instead of the seventh paragraph they desire these clauses may be added :

“Saving in all these cases to all dioceses and archdeaconries the several rights, to which either by prescription or express composition they may be intituled.

“Nevertheless in those dioceses, where the directions given by the canon, now to be drawn in relation to the appointment of rural deans, shall not be observed, the rural deans shall not be intituled to the privileges and profits intended to be conveyed to rural deans by that canon.

“Provided, that where it shall happen by reason of the smallness of any rural deanry, that no person qualified, as the third article requires, can be found to execute the



mandate of induction, in such case it may be executed by any of the clergy of the adjacent deanry.

“The upper house of convocation having considered the amendments made by the lower house to the paper sent down to them concerning the establishment of rural deans, have agreed to them with the following amendments :  
[April 25. M.DCC.XI.]

“Paragraph the fourth leave out the word ‘great’ after ‘unless.’

“In the same paragraph after ‘to the bishops’ leave out ‘and archdeacons, &c.’ to ‘for displacing them sooner.’

“And leaving out the paragraph beginning with these words, ‘Nevertheless in those dioceses.’

“The lower house have considered the amendments sent down by your lordships relating to the paper about rural deans, and cannot agree to the two first of those amendments. The reasons of their disagreement are contained in the following paper. [May 5. M.DCC.XI.]

“May it please your lordships—The fourth paragraph of the paper relating to rural deans, as sent up by the lower house to your lordships, contained the following clause : ‘unless great cause shall appear to the bishops and archdeacons having jurisdiction, or to the bishop, where there is no archdeacon with jurisdiction, for displacing them sooner.’

“This clause your lordships propose should be thus amended : ‘unless cause shall appear to the bishops for displacing them sooner.’

“To this amendment the lower house disagrees for the following reasons :

“Rural deans by the nature and duty of their office are ministerial both to the bishop and archdeacon, and your lordships have been pleased to agree, that they shall be appointed by both jointly ; and the clergy do humbly conceive, that the same reason will equally hold for the displacing of them by both jointly.

“What is conceived to be thus reasonable in itself, is expressly enjoined and determined in the body of the canon

law under the title ‘*De officio archidiaconi* ;’ which chapter is a decretal epistle of Innocent III. and contains as follows : ‘*Subsequenter*,’ &c.

“That no doubt may remain whether the foregoing decretal epistle, and particularly this clause of it was received in England, the same rule of placing and displacing rural deans by the bishop and archdeacon jointly, is laid down by Athon and Lynwode, in their several commentaries upon the legatine and provincial constitutions, and in both with express reference to the said decretal epistle. In the legatine constitution of Otho, intituled “*De vii. sacramentis*,’ is this clause : ‘*Archidiaconi vero in singulis conventibus suorum decanatum sacerdotes in his maxime studeant erudire*,’ &c. where lest the mention of ‘*decanatum suorum*’ with immediate reference to the archdeacons should be thought to imply, that rural deans are subject to the archdeacons alone, the gloss of Jo. de Athon cautions us not to argue from that expression, ‘*Quod decanatus rurales, et per consequens decani ibi præfecti sunt ipsorum archidiaconorum, sed certe (salva consuetudine locorum) tam præfici debent decani tales, quam etiam amoveri per episcopum et archidiaconum simul de jure*:’ and then he refers to the decretal epistle above-said.

“Also in the provincial constitutions tit. ‘*De judiciis c. 1. in causis*,’ where the words of the constitutions are : ‘*Statuimus, ut decani rurales nullam causam matrimonialem de cætero audire præsumant*:’ the gloss of Lynwode upon the words ‘*Decani rurales*’ is this : ‘*De his legitur de offic. archid. Adhæc in fi. ubi dicit Innocentius, quod sunt personæ habentes quædam officia, communiter spectantia ad episcopum et archidiaconum ; et ideo communiter eorum receptio et amotio pertinet ad utrumque, ut ibi dicitur in textu*.’

“For these reasons it is humbly hoped, that your lordships would be pleased to agree with the lower house in continuing your archdeacons the share, which the present

constitution of our church gives them as in the appointing, so also in the displacing of rural deans.

“To the third amendment proposed by your lordships they have agreed with the addition of a request to your lordships, which has passed the house in the words following :

“The lower house do not insist upon the clause, which begins with the words ‘Nevertheless in those dioceses,’ but agree with your lordships in the omission of it. They offered that proviso to your lordships out of a desire to procure an universal conformity to the constitutions now to be made ; but since that is not approved, they submit to your lordships’ wisdom to think of such an expedient, as may be most likely to procure the conformity desired, and to make the rural deans, according to the directions given in her majesty’s letter, still more useful, where they are.

“The upper house of convocation did not consider the reasons offered by the lower house for their disagreeing to the amendments made by the upper house, sufficient to induce them to alter their decision, and they stated their reasons, to which the lower house again replied. After several papers had passed between the two houses, the business dropped. The last paper from the lower house was dated June 5th ; and the convocation was prorogued on the 12th, so that nothing was actually done.”

The other events of this, and subsequent convocations, will come under notice under articles relating to Hoadley and Whiston. It only remains for us here to remark, that from the controversies of this period, the appellations of High Church and Low Church originated, and that the bishops represented the low church, and the lower house of convocation, the high church party.

The following extract from a charge of Atterbury, as archdeacon of Totness, (1703) will show that the same readiness to use the term “high churchman,” as a term of reproach, was found in the beginning of the contro-



versy, and that the answer to the uncharitable imputation was then the same that it is now: "The men who take pleasure in traducing their brethren have endeavoured to expose those of them who appeared steady in this cause, under the invidious name of high churchmen. What they mean by that word I cannot tell. But if an high churchman is one who is for keeping up the present ecclesiastical constitution in all its parts, without making any illegal abatements in favour of such as either openly oppose, or secretly undermine it; one who, though he lives peaceably with all men of different persuasions, and endeavours to win them over by methods of lenity and kindness, yet is not charitable and moderate enough to depart from the establishment, (even while it stands fixed by a law,) in order to meet them half way in their opinions and practices,—one who thinks the canons and rubric of the Church, and the acts of parliament made in favour of it, ought strictly to be observed and kept up to, till they shall, upon a prospect of a thorough compliance of those without, (if such a case may be supposed,) be released, in any respect, by a competent authority; I say, if this be the character of an high churchman, (how odious a sound soever that name may carry,) I see no reason why any man should be displeased with the title, because such an high churchman is certainly a good Christian, and a good Englishman."

Reverting from the public to the personal history of Atterbury, he was gradually advanced to the archdeaconry of Totness, and to the deanry of Carlisle, from whence he removed, in 1711, to Christchurch. At the head of his old college, his domineering spirit is said to have made him unpopular; but he remained in that post but a short time, as he was consecrated bishop of Rochester in 1713, when he was permitted to hold the deanry of Westminster in commendam.

It was reported, but there seems to be no foundation for the report, that on the death of queen Anne, Atterbury offered to proclaim the Pretender, and to have exclaimed,

while Bolingbroke and Ormond were protesting, "Never was better cause lost for want of spirit." The chief politicians of the day, and even some leaders among the whigs, had been, and were at the time, intriguing at the Pretender's court, and it is very possible that Atterbury would have been forward to promote his interests had an opportunity occurred: but it is little likely that he openly committed himself; for if there had been the shadow of proof against him, he was too conspicuous a character, and had too many enemies, to have been permitted to escape. He was received with marked displeasure by king George I. and is suspected of having been the author of a pamphlet, published in 1714, under the title of "English advice to the freeholders of England," which was denounced by a royal proclamation, as "a malicious and traitorous libel." It is certain, from his protests in the house of lords during the early part of the reign of George I. that he took an active part in politics. And certainly the character of George I. who outraged all decency, was not such as to conciliate those who were not politically attached to him. The fear of popery on the part of the people, alone, kept him upon the throne. When the insurrection in favour of the Stuarts took place, in 1715, it was thought fit by the friends of the Hanoverian succession, to give to the government every possible assurance of their fidelity and allegiance; accordingly, there was published a declaration of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops in and near London, testifying their abhorrence of the present rebellion; and an exhortation to the clergy and people under their care, to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to his majesty king George. This paper the bishop of Rochester, and, by his instigation, bishop Smallridge, refused to sign, on pretence of a just offence taken at some unbecoming reflections cast on a party, not inferior to any (they said) in point of loyalty. The words objected to were these: "We are the more concerned that both the clergy and people of our communion should shew themselves hearty friends to the govern-

ment upon this occasion, to vindicate the honour of the church of England, because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from discontents artificially raised among us ; and because some, who have valued themselves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the Church, have joined with papists in these wicked attempts : which, as they must ruin the Church if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the rest of us do not clearly and heartily declare our detestation of such practices."

When the Dutch troops, who came over to quell this insurrection of the English, were quartered at Gravesend, in Kent, the officers requested of Mr Gibbin, the curate of that place, the use of his church one Sunday morning, for their chaplain to preach to their soldiers, and Mr Gibbin most unjustifiably, and without consulting his diocesan, consented, although there were many meeting houses open, of which the Dutch invaders might have availed themselves. Bishop Atterbury, as in duty bound, suspended Mr Gibbin, and was much censured for doing so, by the political protestants : he is said to have spoken of the transaction as a profanation.

He had become so obnoxious to the whigs, and his talents were so highly rated, that it has been confidently affirmed, that shortly before his prosecution, sir Robert Walpole visited him, and offered him the bishopric of Winchester for himself, and the valuable office of a tellership of the exchequer for his son-in-law, Mr Morice, if he would simply discontinue his attendance in the house of lords.

On the 24th of August, 1722, Atterbury was apprehended, and having been examined before the council, was afterwards committed to the tower on the charge of high treason. It appeared that there was a plot for landing a foreign force in aid of the Jacobites, by whom the pretender was to be proclaimed. There was at that time a vast system of espionage, and scarcely a movement could be made on the part of the Jacobites, that did not come



to the knowledge of sir Robert Walpole. These plots were generally conceived and conducted by inferior agents, while the leaders kept out of the details, which made it a matter of difficulty to implicate the heads of the party. Lord Orrery and lord North were apprehended, but were not detained, as the evidence appeared insufficient; and had Atterbury been a less distinguished character, he might probably have escaped too. The evidence against him, which distinguished his case from that of the others was this:—it was clear that a treasonable correspondence had taken place between the followers of the pretender and persons, or a person, assuming the names of Jones and Illington. Besides general suspicion, there was one trivial circumstance that tended to fix this correspondence upon Atterbury. Mrs Atterbury had received as a present from abroad, a dog of a peculiar breed, called Harlequin, and in the letters the circumstance of a present of a dog of that name was alluded to. On the 9th of October, 1723, a bill, having for its object the deposition and banishment of the bishop, was brought into the house of commons and was passed, the bishop refusing to appear before that house. In May, in the year following, his trial took place in the house of lords: the bishop's defence was able and eloquent, but he pleaded in vain. The bill against him passed, after warm and protracted debates, on the 16th of May, by a majority of 83 to 43. During the trial sir Robert Walpole appeared to give evidence, and was cross-examined by the bishop; “a greater trial of skill,” as was remarked, “scarce ever happened, the one fighting for reputation, the other for acquittal.”

That the bishop was condemned on insufficient evidence, and as a victim to party violence, there can be no doubt; and perhaps there is as little doubt that he was implicated in the plot, though to what extent it is difficult to say. Nothing could justify Atterbury's conduct. The honest non-jurors did not acknowledge king George; and with them, in contending for their rightful king, we can sympathize; but having sworn allegiance to George as king,

Atterbury was nothing less than a traitor if he corresponded with the pretender.

Atterbury left the tower to embark for France, on the 16th of June, 1723. He at first resided at Brussels, but experiencing some annoyance there, from the suspicions of the English ministers, he went to Paris, which was his chief place of residence during the remainder of his life, and where he entered fully and heartily into the cause of the Stuart family. He maintained a correspondence, at the same time, with the most distinguished literary characters of the age. He died at Paris, on the 15th of February, 1731-2. His body was brought over to England, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The life of Atterbury is, as we have remarked, chiefly interesting for the part he acted in the last meetings of the convocation of our church. He was an ecclesiastical politician and intriguer, devoting himself not to the establishment of a principle, but to the mere triumph of a party. Great principles were injured by his advocacy of them, since he gave to them a party colouring, and made what was heavenly appear earthly. At the same time, it is but just to his memory, to give him the benefit of those two well known lines in Pope, which lead us to suppose that he was, in private, as estimable, as he was certainly skilful and clever in his public transactions :

How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour,  
How shined his soul, unconquered in the tower !

His works, besides those already mentioned, are 1. Four volumes of sermons. 2. His Epistolary correspondence, which was first published in 1798, and contained his letters, many of his tracts, and other pieces ; and 3. A part of a correspondence respecting the times at which the Gospels were written.—Stackhouse's *Memoirs*. *Biog. Brit.* Lathbury's *Hist. of Convocation*. Cardwell's *Synodalia*. *Life of Kennett*. *Life of Prideaux*. Burnet's own *Times*.

ATTICUS, patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth century, was born at Tebaste, in Armenia. Although he was

educated in a monastery in which the Macedonian heresy prevailed, he embraced the Catholic faith, on coming to years of discretion, and was ordained a priest in the church of Constantinople. Here he bore a principal part in the conspiracy against St John Chrysostom; (see life of Chrysostom,) and on the death of Arsacius, the usurping bishop of that see, he was elected his successor; St Chrysostom, the *de jure* bishop, being still alive. Finding that neither the bishops of the East, nor the people of Constantinople would communicate with him, in order to compel them, he obtained rescripts of the emperor. The rescript against the bishops declared: that if any of the bishops would not communicate with Theophilus, Porphyrius, and Atticus, they should be expelled the Church and deprived of their benefices. Those who were rich and fond of their estates communicated with Atticus out of policy; and those who were poor and weak in faith, permitted themselves to be seduced by bribes: but there were others who, despising their riches, their country, and all temporal advantages, went away in order to escape persecution. Several of these repaired to Rome, and others retired to the mountains, or sought refuge in the monasteries. The edict against the laity ordained, that whosoever was in the enjoyment of any dignity should be dispossessed, that officers and military men should be broken, and that the common people and tradesmen should be condemned to fine and banishment. The reader will be reminded of the conduct of the British government in the last century, towards the members of our church in Scotland. But in spite of these threatenings, the people, who still regarded St Chrysostom as their bishop, submitted to every inconvenience, and resorted to the open fields for the purposes of devotion, when they were excluded from the churches.

The controversy was still further embittered, when, on the death of St Chrysostom, Atticus refused to insert his name in the diptychs,—certain ecclesiastical tables, in which the names of distinguished persons, who had died



in the faith and communion of the Church, were inserted, that they might be remembered in the prayers, thanksgivings, and oblations of the faithful.

This course involved Atticus in difficulty: the western bishops, and many of the eastern, refused to communicate with him, and at last serious disturbances were threatened; he applied to the emperor for some means to pacify the people and to keep the peace, when the emperor replied, that where so great a blessing was concerned as that of union, there was no great harm in recording the name of a dead man. To this authority, added to the wishes of the people, Atticus was obliged to submit, and the name of St John Chrysostom was added to the diptychs of Constantinople. He had some difficulty in persuading his supporters at a distance to admit the propriety of the course he adopted: this was especially the case with respect to Cyril, of Alexandria, who looked upon the council which had deposed Chrysostom as a lawful one, and refused to admit the expediency of violating a canon. But Atticus at last prevailed, and peace was restored to his church. He died in 425. He was a man of good common sense rather than of deep learning, and had great political talent. His address was insinuating, and his conversation agreeable, and he gained the friendship of many, by knowing how to adapt himself to their turn of thought. He was not skilled as a preacher; but his charity to the poor was extensive, and extended beyond his own diocese to the neighbouring cities. He has left behind him no works of importance.—*Socrates. Sozomen. Fleury. Cave. Moreri. Nicephorus.*

ATTO, was consecrated bishop of Vercelli about the year 924. He was distinguished for the enlightened zeal with which he laboured for the welfare, both spiritual and temporal, of his diocese. He died about the year 960. His works were printed by D'Achéry in the 8th volume of his *Spicilegium*, and were published in two vols. folio, in 1768.—Atto, *Opera Omnia.* D'Achery's *Spicilegium.*

AUBERT, bishop of the united dioceses of Cambray and Arras, was consecrated about the year 633, and was one of the most eminent promoters of learning and piety in the Gallican church. His youth he dedicated to God by the mortification and absolute conquest of his sensual appetites; and he was afterwards the means of converting many persons of high rank. His influence with king Dagobert was such, that he caused that monarch to become a benefactor of the Church. His most distinguished convert was Landelier, the chief of a band of robbers, who, drawn by Aubert's tears and prayers from apostasy to a religious state, became the founder of four monasteries, and was canonized by the pope. Count Madelgare, his wife Waldegrude, and her sister Aldegunda, received the religious habit from Aubert. He died about the year 669, and is commemorated in the Roman calendar on the 13th of December.—*Mabillon. Butler.*

AUBERT, bishop of Avranches, at the beginning of the 8th century, is honourably known as the founder of the abbey Mont St Michel, about the year 708. He died about 725.—*Biog. Univer.*

AUGER, EDMOND, was born of poor parents, in the diocese of Troyes, A. D. 1515: begging his way to Rome, he thought himself fortunate in obtaining the place of scullion in the college of jesuits. His abilities attracted the notice of Ignatius, and he was admitted a novice of the college. He was sent to France, on a mission to convert the Huguenots, and had wonderful success in many of the cities of the south. In one place alone, 1,500 Huguenots, by his persuasion, were restored to the Church. The baron des Adrets, however, displeased with his mission, ordered him to be hanged; and he was barely rescued, with the rope round his neck, by a Huguenot minister, who hoped to make a convert of him. He obtained the favour of Henry III. who made him, in 1575, his confessor and preacher in ordinary. This rendered him an

object of hatred to the league, who, after the death of his patron, forced him to leave Paris. He refused a bishopric, and returning to Italy, died at Como in the year 1591. He was a very popular preacher, and is said to have converted forty thousand heretics. His works are chiefly controversial.—*Alegambe. Moreri. Biog. Univ.*

AUGUSTINE, SAINT, AURELIUS. Of the personal history of this celebrated father of the Church we shall be able to give some interesting details from his “Confessions;” a work which is equally important to the historian, the antiquary, and the divine, while, by the deep piety of its sentiments, it cannot be perused without emotion by the humblest Christian. Aurelius Augustinus, commonly called St Augustine, was born at Tagasta, or Thagaste, a small town of Numidia, situated between Madaura and Hippo, on the 13th of November, in the year 354. His father, Patricius, was a pagan, a person of high respectability, although only a poor freeman of Thagaste. His mother, Monica, was a Christian of extraordinary piety; she in the end converted her husband, who was won by her meekness and consistent conduct, to respect a religion, of the truth of which he became persuaded before his death. St Augustine informs us that Patricius was an irritable man, and that Monica had learnt not to resist him even in word: she bore all with patience; only when he was soothed and tranquil, and in a temper to receive it, she would give an account of her actions, if haply he had over hastily taken offence. Of her meekness, patience and prayers, the young Augustine had need, for he was distinguished in his early years for the waywardness of his temper, his dislike to study, and his love of pleasure. His father, intending to make him a rhetorician, at that time regarded as an honourable and lucrative profession, adapted for men of literary pursuits and small means, placed him in a grammar school at Madaura. Here he studied grammar and rhetoric, together with the Greek and Roman languages: to the study of Greek his repug-



nance was great, but in the Latin classics he found pleasure, and in after life reproached himself for weeping over the sorrows of Dido, while he wept not for his own sins, and perceived not his spiritual death.

Patricius, ambitious for his son's success, though careless of his morals, saved money with difficulty, that he might send Augustine to complete his studies at Carthage. On his removal to Carthage, in his sixteenth year, he was led astray by the violence of his passions, and especially by the evil example of his associates. The hypocrisy of youth very frequently consists in making themselves appear to be less religious than they are, and of this kind of hypocrisy, among his other sins, Augustine was guilty. "What is worthy of dispraise," he says, "but vice? But I made myself worse than I was, that I might not be dispraised; and when in any thing I had not sinned as the abandoned ones, I would say that I had done what I had not done, that I might not seem contemptible in proportion as I was innocent; or of less account, the more chaste."

In his nineteenth year he was induced, by the perusal of a treatise of Cicero, now lost, entitled *Hortensius*, to turn his attention to philosophy. From this time he dates the commencement of that earnest pursuit of divine truth, which, amidst all his subsequent excesses, was ever afterwards in his mind. He became diligent in his studies, but soon found that there was no satisfaction to be obtained in the study of pagan philosophy. He turned to the scriptures, but "they seemed to be unworthy of the stateliness of Tully, for his swelling pride shrunk from their lowliness, nor could his sharp wit pierce the interior thereof." Thus he describes his state of mind when he became a convert to the Manichees.

Manicheism was an attempt to merge Christianity into the paganism of the east. It owed its origin to Manes, who was by birth a Persian.

The system of Manes begins with supposing two eternal and co-existent kingdoms, the kingdom of light, and the

kingdom of darkness. These border on each other, and are under the dominion, the one of God and the other of the demon, or hyle. In a war between the two kingdoms, the borders having been passed, and the material or matter of the two worlds mingled, God commanded the living spirit (*ζῶν πνεῦμα*) to fashion our world out of this mingled matter, to the end that the portion belonging to the kingdom of light (*anima et Jesus patibilis*) might be gradually separated, and the old boundaries restored. This process is conducted by two exalted natures, or entities, from the kingdom of light, Christ (whom Manes calls in preference *dextra luminis*, &c.) and the Holy Ghost; the former residing in the sun and moon (*naves*,) and the latter in the air. Their efforts are opposed by the demon and the evil spirits, who are fixed to the stars. In each individual there is a soul of light, and an evil soul, and his aim should be to secure to the former the sway over the latter, to unite with it as many as possible of the elements of light, which are scattered every where, and especially in certain plants, and thus to free it from the fetters of the evil principle, and prepare the way for its return to the kingdom of light. After the demon, or ruler of the hyle, had long led men astray by false religions (Judaism and Paganism,) Christ descended from the sun in a seeming body, to lead them to the worship of the true God, and by his instructions to help the souls of light in their struggle for liberty. But these instructions were never fully understood even by the apostles, and after his death still more misinterpreted by his followers; and for this reason he promised a still greater apostle, the Paraclete, who appeared in the person of Manes.

Some of the Manichæans rejected entirely the writings of the New Testament; others declared them to be interpolated. They had also other pretended apostolical writings, and held the productions of Manes himself in the highest veneration.

Their moral system prescribed a rigid self-denial, which had for its object to give to the good soul in man

the sway over the bad soul. It was distinguished into the *signaculam oris*, *signaculum manûs*, and *signaculum sinûs*. But, as a rigid adherence to this system would have made an end of the whole sect in one generation, Manes divided his followers into two classes, the Electi (τέλειοι) and the Auditores (κατηχούμενοι), of whom the last were excused from the observance of the more severe rules. The worship of the Manichæans was extremely simple. They celebrated the Sunday only by fasting, and on the day of Manes's death observed a festival called βῆμα. The rites of baptism and the Lord's supper were confined to the Electi.

Manes sent out twelve apostles to make converts, and some of the Electi were always abroad for this purpose. Still the most intimate union was preserved. At the head of the whole party was always some one person under whom were twelve magistri, to whom again the seventy-two bishops of the separate churches were accountable. The historical form in which Manes pretended to explain so much that is beyond human conception, and the ascetic life of his followers, could not fail to attract much attention, and thus we find the Manichæans, soon after the death of their founder, carrying their doctrines into Africa Proconsularis, and even farther, in the Roman dominions. And this, though they were not only opposed by the true Church, but persecuted with peculiar severity by the heathen emperors on account of their Persian origin.

Such is a brief account, taken from Guiseler, of the sect to which Augustine now gave his adhesion, to the great grief of his mother. Until he was committed to some false system, she hoped for his conversion, but she was now inclined to despair. St Augustine himself gives an affecting account of an interview between Monica and a certain bishop, "whom," he says, "when this woman (his mother) had entreated to vouchsafe to converse with me, refute my errors, unteach me ill things, and teach me



good things, (for this he was wont to do, when he found persons fitted to receive it,) he refused, wisely, as I afterwards perceived. For he answered, that I was yet unteachable, being puffed up with the novelty of that heresy, and had already perplexed divers unskilful persons with captious questions, as she had told him: ‘but let him alone a while,’ (saith he,) ‘only pray God for him, he will of himself by reading find what that error is, and how great its impiety.’ At the same time he told her, how himself, when a little one, had by his seduced mother been consigned over to the Manichees, and had not only read, but frequently copied out almost all their books, and had (without any argument or proof from any one) seen how much that sect was to be avoided; and had avoided it. Which when he had said, and she would not be satisfied, but urged him more, with intreaties and many tears, that he would see me, and discourse with me; he, a little displeased at her importunity, saith, ‘Go thy ways, and God bless thee, for it is not possible that the son of these tears should perish.’ Which answer she took (as she often mentioned in her conversations with me) as if it had sounded from heaven.”

During the first year of his studies at Carthage, he lost his father, and at twenty-one years of age he returned to Thagaste, where he resided with his mother, and became a professor of rhetoric. He here formed a romantic attachment with a young man of the same age as himself, and endeared to him by a community of pursuits. His account of this young man’s death is the more interesting, as giving an insight into Augustine’s own mind at this time.

“Long, sore sick of a fever, he lay senseless in a death-sweat; and his recovery being despaired of, he was baptized unknowing; myself mean-while little regarding, and presuming that his soul would retain rather what it had received of me, not what was wrought on his unconscious body. But it proved far otherwise: for he was refreshed, and restored. Forthwith, as soon as I could speak with him, (and I could, so soon as he was able, for I never left

him, and we hung but too much upon each other,) I essayed to jest with him, as though he would jest with me at that Baptism which he had received, when utterly absent in mind and feeling, but had now understood that he had received. But he so shrunk from me, as from an enemy; and with a wonderful and sudden freedom bade me, as I would continue his friend, forbear such language to him. I, all astonished and amazed, suppressed all my emotions till he should grow well, and his health were strong enough for me to deal with him, as I would. But he was taken away from my phrensy, that with Thee\* he might be preserved for my comfort; a few days after, in my absence, he was attacked again by the fever, and so departed.

“At this grief my heart was utterly darkened; and whatever I beheld was death. My native country was a torment to me, and my father’s house a strange unhappiness; and whatever I had shared with him, wanting him, became a distracting torture. Mine eyes sought him every where, but he was not granted them; nor could they now tell me, ‘he is coming,’ as when he was alive and absent. I became a great riddle to myself, and I asked my soul, *why she was so sad, and why she disquieted me sorely*; but she knew not what to answer me. And if I said, *Trust in God*, she very rightly obeyed me not; because that most dear friend, whom she had lost, was, being man, both truer and better, than that phantasm she was bid to trust in. Only tears were sweet to me, for they succeeded my friend, in the dearest of my affections.”

On the death of his friend he gave up his school at Thagaste, and returning to Carthage, established one there, over which he presided nine years, and acquired a distinguished name among his contemporaries. Dissatisfied with the Manichæan system, without renouncing it, he gave himself up to the speculations of Plato; and in his twenty-sixth year, he composed his first work upon

\* In order to understand this form of expression, it must be remembered that the confessions of St Augustine are really an act of devotion, addressed to the Almighty.

“Beauty and Order,” *De Apto et Pulchro*, which he dedicated to Hierius, “Orator of the city of Rome.”

Wearied with perpetual doubts, and vibrating between the theory of virtue and the practice of vice, he passed the flower of his youth in studies which did not gratify his understanding, and in pleasures which did not satisfy his heart. At length he expected, in his thirtieth year, to have a termination put to his difficulties, by the arrival in Carthage of Faustus, the Manichæan bishop. The account of Faustus shall be given by Augustine himself.

“That greediness then, wherewith I had of so long time expected that man, was delighted verily with his action and feeling when disputing, and his choice and readiness of words to clothe his ideas. I was then delighted, and, with many others and more than they, did I praise and extol him. It troubled me, however, that in the assembly of his auditors, I was not allowed to put in, and communicate those questions that troubled me, in familiar converse with him. Which when I might, and with my friends began to engage his ears at such times as it was not unbecoming for him to discuss with me, and had brought forward such things as moved me; I found him first utterly ignorant of liberal sciences, save grammar, and that but in an ordinary way. But because he had read some of Tully’s orations, a very few books of Seneca, some things of the poets, and such few volumes of his own sect, as were written in Latin and neatly, and was daily practised in speaking, he acquired a certain eloquence, which proved the more pleasing and seductive, because under the guidance of a good wit, and with a kind of natural gracefulness. Is it not thus, as I recal it, O Lord my God, Thou Judge of my conscience? Before Thee is my heart, and my remembrance, Who didst at that time direct me by the hidden mystery of Thy providence, and didst set those shameful errors of mine before my face, that I might see and hate them.

“For after it was clear, that he was ignorant of those arts in which I thought he excelled, I began to despair of



his opening and solving the difficulties which perplexed me ; (of which indeed however ignorant, he might have held the truths of piety, had he not been a Manichee.) For their books are fraught with prolix fables, of the heaven, and stars, sun and moon ; and I now no longer thought him able satisfactorily to decide what I much desired, whether, on comparison of these things with the calculations I had elsewhere read, the account given in the books of Manichæus were preferable, or at least as good. Which when I proposed to be considered and discussed, he, so far modestly, shrunk from the burthen. For he knew that he knew not these things, and was not ashamed to confess it. For he was not one of those talking persons, many of whom I had endured, who undertook to teach me these things, and said nothing. But this man had a heart, though not right towards Thee, yet neither altogether treacherous to himself. For he was not altogether ignorant of his own ignorance, nor would he rashly be entangled in a dispute, whence he could neither retreat, nor extricate himself fairly. Even for this I liked him the better. For fairer is the modesty of a candid mind, than the knowledge of those things which are desired ; and such I found him, in all the more difficult and subtile questions.

“ My zeal for the writings of Manichæus being thus blunted, and despairing yet more of their other teachers, seeing that in divers things which perplexed me, he, so renowned among them, had so turned out ; I began to engage with him in the study of that literature, on which he also was much set, (and which as rhetoric-reader I was at that time teaching young students at Carthage,) and to read with him, either what himself desired to hear, or such as I judged fit for his genius. But all my efforts whereby I had proposed to advance in that sect, upon knowledge of that man, came utterly to an end ; not that I detached myself from them altogether, but as one finding nothing better, I had settled to be content meanwhile with what I had in whatever way fallen upon, unless by chance something more eligible should dawn upon me.

Thus that Faustus, to so many a snare of death, had now, neither willing nor witting it, begun to loosen that wherein I was taken. For Thy hands, O my God, in the secret purpose of Thy providence, did not forsake my soul; and out of my mother's heart's blood, through her tears night and day poured out, was a sacrifice offered for me unto Thee; and Thou didst deal with me by wondrous ways. Thou didst it, O my God: for *the steps of a man are ordered by the Lord, and He shall dispose his way*. Or how shall we obtain salvation, but from Thy hand, re-making what It made?"

He now determined to leave Carthage, and he went to Rome, contrary to the wishes of his mother, but evidently under the guidance of that Divine Providence which led him to break off his former connexions before embracing the truth.

He tells us himself why he remained so long with the Manichæans: writing to his friend Honoratius, who originally joined the Manichæans at the instigation of Augustine, and who remained a Manichæan after Augustine was converted, he says: "it was their assertion that we were overawed by superstition, and that faith is obtruded upon us without the reason being given: whereas the Manichæans *tie none to believe, except upon the truth being examined and cleared up*. Who by such promises would not be inveigled? especially a young man, desirous of truth, and by a reputation among learned men in the schools, already grown proud and talkative. They derided the simplicity of the Catholic faith, which commanded them to believe before they were taught by evident reason what was truth." "It is," he says in another place, "a rule as it were amongst all heretics, that they endeavour to overbear with the name and promise of reason, the steady authority of the Church, which is firmly founded, and thus they are forced to do, because they perceive themselves to be worsted, if their authority should once come to be compared with that of the catholic Church."

It would seem that the chief characteristic of all heretics are in this respect the same.

Augustine did not remain at Rome above a year, but availed himself of an opening which offered of becoming rhetoric reader at Milan, and, says he, “to Milan I came, to Ambrose the bishop, known to the whole world as among the best of men, Thy devout servant; whose eloquent discourse did then plentifully dispense unto Thy people the flour of Thy wheat, the gladness of Thy oil, and the sober inebriation of Thy wine. To him was I unknowingly led by Thee, that by him I might knowingly be led to Thee. That man of God received me as a father, and shewed me an episcopal kindness on my coming. Thenceforth I began to love him, at first indeed not as a teacher of the truth, (which I utterly despaired of in Thy church,) but as a person kind towards myself. And I listened diligently to him preaching to the people, not with that intent I ought, but, as it were, trying his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof, or flowed fuller or lower than was reported; and I hung on his words attentively; but of the matter I was a careless and scornful looker-on; and I was delighted with the sweetness of his discourse, more recondite, yet in manner less winning and harmonious, than that of Faustus. Of the matter, however, there was no comparison; for the one was wandering amid Manichæan delusions, the other teaching salvation most soundly. But *salvation is far from sinners*, such as I then stood before him; and yet was I drawing nearer by little and little, and unconsciously.

“For though I took no pains to learn what he spake, but only to hear how he spake; (for that empty care alone was left me, despairing of a way, open for man, to Thee,) yet together with the words which I would choose, came also into my mind the things which I would refuse; for I could not separate them. And while I opened my heart to admit ‘how eloquently he spake,’ there also entered ‘how truly he spake;’ but this by degrees. For first, these things also had now begun to appear to me capable



of defence ; and the Catholic faith, for which I had thought nothing could be said against the Manichees' objections, I now thought might be maintained without shamelessness ; especially after I had heard one or two places of the Old Testament resolved, and oftentimes "*in a figure,*" which when I understood literally, I was slain spiritually. Very many places then of those books having been explained, I now blamed my despair, in believing, that no answer could be given to such as hated and scoffed at the law and the prophets. Yet did I not therefore then see, that the Catholic way was to be held, because it also could find learned maintainers, who could at large and with some shew of reason answer objections ; nor that what I held was therefore to be condemned, because both sides could be maintained. For the Catholic cause seemed to me in such sort not vanquished, as still not as yet to be victorious."

Here Augustine was joined by his mother, whose pious heart was consoled at finding her son, though not yet a Catholic Christian, no longer a Manichee. Of his mother he gives the following anecdote, interesting not only as shewing her Christian temper, but also as illustrative of the manners of the times.

" When then my mother had once, as she was wont in Afric, brought to the churches built in memory of the saints, certain cakes, and bread and wine, and was forbidden by the door keeper ; so soon as she knew that the bishop had forbidden this, she so piously and obediently embraced his wishes, that I myself wondered how readily she censured her own practice, rather than discuss his prohibition. For wine-bibbing did not lay siege to her spirit, nor did love of wine provoke her to hatred of the truth, as it doth too many, (both men and women,) who revolt at a lesson of sobriety, as men well-drunk at a draught mingled with water. But she, when she had brought her basket with the accustomed festival-food, to be but tasted by herself, and then given away, never joined therewith more than one small cup of wine, diluted

according to her own abstemious habits, which for courtesy she would taste. And if there were many churches of the departed saints, that were to be honoured in that manner, she still carried round that same one cup, to be used every where ; and this, though not only made very watery, but unpleasantly heated with carrying about, she would distribute to those about her by small sips ; for she sought there devotion, not pleasure. So soon, then, as she found this custom to be forbidden by that famous preacher, and most pious prelate, even to those that would use it soberly, lest so an occasion of excess might be given to the drunken ; and for that these, as it were, anniversary funeral solemnities did much resemble the superstition of the Gentiles, she most willingly forbade it : and for a basket filled with fruits of the earth, she had learned to bring to the churches of the martyrs, a breast filled with more purified petitions, and to give what she could to the poor : that so the communication of the Lord's Body might be there rightly celebrated, where, after the example of His Passion, the martyrs had been sacrificed and crowned."

But the condition of Augustine was wretched in the extreme ; he lived in an alternation of sinning and repenting, with frequent aspirations after virtue, and constant apostacy to vice. He formed a scheme of establishing a little community with his friends Alypius, Nebridius, and Romanianus, but the plan came to nothing. His mother proposed a matrimonial alliance for him, and he put away his mistress ; but the marriage being delayed, he fell into irregularities. He was perfectly miserable. In the 7th and 8th books of his " Confessions," he draws a vivid picture of the doubts and anxieties which at this time oppressed his mind. He detested himself for his weakness and wretchedness : he found in the works of Plato arguments to refute the materialism of the Manichæans, but they at the same time fostered pride in his heart, and his soul was now pining for stronger food.

It would have been natural for him to have resorted, under these circumstances, to St Ambrose : but we may

gather from his account of St Ambrose's life why he chose in the first instance another director; he says, "Ambrose himself, as the world counts happy, I esteemed a happy man, whom personages so great held in such honour: only his celibacy seemed to me a painful course. But what hope he bore within him, what struggles he had against the temptations which beset his very excellencies, or what comfort in adversities, add what sweet joys Thy Bread had for the hidden mouth of his spirit, when chewing the cud thereof, I neither could conjecture nor had experienced. Nor did he know the tides of my feelings, or the abyss of my danger. For I could not ask of him, what I would as I would, being shut out both from his ear and speech by multitudes of busy people, whose weaknesses he served. With whom, when he was not taken up, (which was but a little time,) he was either refreshing his body with the sustenance absolutely necessary, or his mind with reading. But when he was reading, his eye glided over the pages, and his heart searched out the sense, but his voice and tongue were at rest. Oft-times when we had come, (for no man was forbidden to enter, nor was it his wont that any who came should be announced to him,) we saw him thus reading to himself, and never otherwise; and having long sat silent, (for who durst intrude on one so intent?) we were fain to depart, conjecturing, that in the small interval, which he obtained, free from the din of others' business, for the recruiting of his mind, he was loath to be taken off; and perchance he dreaded lest if the author he read should deliver any thing obscurely, some attentive or perplexed hearer should desire him to expound it, or to discuss some of the harder questions; so that his time being thus spent, he could not turn over so many volumes as he desired; although the preserving of his voice (which a very little speaking would weaken) might be the truer reason for his reading to himself. But with what intent soever he did it, certainly in such a man it was good.

"I however certainly had no opportunity of enquiring



what I wished, of that so holy oracle of Thine, his breast, unless the thing might be answered briefly. But those tides in me, to be poured out to him, required his full leisure, and never found it. I heard him indeed every Lord's day, *rightly expounding the Word of Truth* among the people; and I was more and more convinced, that all the knots of those crafty calumnies, which those our deceivers had knit against the Divine books, could be unravelled. But when I understood withal, that "*man, created by Thee, after Thine own image,*" was not so understood by Thy spiritual sons, whom of the Catholic Mother Thou hast born again through grace, as though they believed and conceived of Thee as bounded by human shape; (although what a spiritual substance should be I had not even a faint or shadowy notion;) yet with joy I blushed at having so many years barked not against the Catholic faith, but against the fictions of carnal imaginations. For so rash and impious had I been, that what I ought by enquiring to have learned, I had pronounced on, condemning. For Thou, Most High, and most near; most secret, and most present; Who hast not limbs some larger, some smaller, but art wholly every where, and nowhere in space, art not of such corporeal shape, yet hast Thou made man after Thine own image; and behold, from head to foot is he contained in space."

Under these circumstances he had recourse to Simplicianus, an aged presbyter, who had baptized St Ambrose, whose successor in the see of Milan he eventually became. To him he "opened his grief," and related "the mazes of his wanderings." Simplicianus acted towards him with kindness and discretion, and on an occasional reference to Victorinus, the translator of Plato, he related to Augustine that person's history. Victorinus had been a professor of rhetoric at Rome; he had read and weighed the works of philosophers, had been the instructor of "noble senators," and had obtained a statue in the Roman forum. He remained an idolator till his old age, and had been an eloquent advocate of pagan worship, when he was led to

the perusal of the Scriptures, and to a belief in their divinity. According to Augustine “He used to read (as Simplicianus said) the holy Scriptures, most studiously sought and searched into all the Christian writings, and said to Simplicianus, (not openly, but privately and as a friend,) ‘Understand that I am already a Christian.’ Where to he answered, ‘I will not believe it, nor will I rank you among Christians, unless I see you in the Church of Christ.’ The other, in banter, replied, ‘Do walls then make Christians?’ And this he often said, that he was already a Christian; and Simplicianus as often made the same answer, and the conceit of the ‘walls’ was by the other as often renewed. For he feared to offend his friends, proud dæmon-worshippers, from the height of whose Babylonian dignity, as from *cedars of Libanus*, which *the Lord* had not yet *broken down*, he supposed the weight of enmity would fall upon him. But after that by reading and earnest thought he had gathered firmness, and feared to be *denied by Christ before the holy angels*, should he now be afraid to confess Him before men, and appeared to himself guilty of a heavy offence, in being ashamed of the Sacraments of the humility of Thy Word, and not being ashamed of the sacrilegious rites of those proud dæmons, whose pride he had imitated and their rites adopted, he became bold-faced against vanity, and shame-faced towards the truth, and suddenly and unexpectedly said to Simplicianus, (as himself told me,) ‘Go we to the church; I wish to be made a Christian.’ But he, not containing himself for joy, went with him. And having been admitted to the first Sacrament and become a catechumen, not long after he further gave in his name, that he might be regenerated by Baptism, Rome wondering, the Church rejoicing. The proud *saw, and were wroth, they gnashed with their teeth, and melted away*. But the Lord God was the hope of Thy servant, and he regarded not vanities and lying madness.

“To conclude, when the hour was come for making profession of his faith, (which at Rome they, who are about

to approach Thy grace, deliver, from an elevated place, in the sight of all the faithful, in a set form of words committed to memory,) the presbyters, he said, offered Victorinus (as was done to such, as seemed likely through bashfulness to be alarmed) to make his profession more privately : but he chose rather to profess his salvation in the presence of the holy multitude. ‘ For it was not salvation that he taught in rhetoric, and yet that he had publicly professed. How much less then ought he, when pronouncing Thy word, to dread Thy meek flock, who, when delivering his own words, had not feared a mad multitude !’ When, then, he went up to make his profession, all, as they knew him, whispered his name one to another with the voice of congratulation. And who there knew him not ? and there ran a low murmur through all the mouths of the rejoicing multitude, Victorinus ! Victorinus ! Sudden was the burst of rapture, that they saw him ; suddenly were they hushed that they might hear him. He pronounced the true faith with an excellent boldness, and all wished to draw him into their very heart : yea by their love and joy they drew him thither ; such were the hands wherewith they drew him.”

This was a story calculated to meet the feelings of Augustine, but there was still the struggle going on in his soul, the law in his members struggling against the law in his mind. But soon after the following occurrence took place : “ Upon a day, Nebridius being absent, (I recollect not why,) lo, there came to see me and Alypius, one Pontitianus, our countryman so far as being an African, in high office in the emperor’s court. What he would with us, I know not, but we sat down to converse, and it happened that upon a table for some game, before us, he observed a book, took, opened it, and contrary to his expectation, found it the apostle Paul ; for he had thought it some of those books, which I was wearing myself in teaching. Whereat smiling, and looking at me, he expressed his joy and wonder, that he had on a sudden found this book, and this only before my eyes. For he



was a Christian, and baptized, and often bowed himself before Thee our God in the church, in frequent and continued prayers. When then I had told him, that I bestowed very great pains upon those scriptures, a conversation arose (suggested by his account) on Antony the Egyptian monk: whose name was in high reputation among Thy servants, though to that hour unknown to us. Which when he discovered, he dwelt the more upon that subject, informing and wondering at our ignorance of one so eminent. But we stood amazed, hearing Thy wonderful works most fully attested, in times so recent, and almost in our own, wrought in the true faith and Church catholic. We all wondered; we, that they were so great, and he, that they had not reached us.

“Thence his discourse turned to the flocks in the monasteries, and their holy ways, a sweet smelling savour unto Thee, and the fruitful deserts of the wilderness, whereof we knew nothing. And there was a monastery at Milan, full of good brethren, without the city walls, under the fostering care of Ambrose, and we knew it not. He went on with his discourse, and we listened in intent silence. He told us then how one afternoon at Triers, when the emperor was taken up with the Circensian games, he and three others, his companions, went out to walk in gardens near the city walls, and there as they happened to walk in pairs, one went apart with him, and the other two wandered by themselves; and these, in their wanderings, lighted upon a certain cottage, inhabited by certain of Thy servants, *poor in spirit, of whom is the kingdom of heaven*, and there they found a little book, containing the life of Antony. This one of them began to read, admire, and kindle at it; and as he read, to meditate on taking up such a life, and giving over his secular service to serve Thee. And these two were of those whom they style agents for the public affairs. Then suddenly, filled with an holy love, and a sober shame, in anger with himself he cast his eyes upon his friend, saying, ‘Tell me, I pray thee, what would we attain by all these labours of

ours? what aim we at? what serve we for? Can our hopes in court rise higher than to be the emperor's favourites? and in this, what is there not brittle, and full of perils? and by how many perils arrive we at a greater peril? And when arrive we thither? But a friend of God, if I wish it, I become now at once.' So spake he. And in pain with the travail of a new life, he turned his eyes again upon the book, and read on, and was changed inwardly, where Thou sawest, and his mind was stripped of the world, as soon appeared. For as he read, and rolled up and down the waves of his heart, he stormed at himself a while, then discerned, and determined on a better course; and now being Thine, said to his friend, 'Now have I broken loose from those our hopes, and am resolved to serve God; and this, from this hour, in this place, I begin upon. If thou likest not to imitate me, oppose not.' The other answered, he would cleave to him, to partake so glorious a reward, so glorious a service. Thus both being now Thine, were *building the tower at the necessary cost, the forsaking all that they had, and following Thee*. Then Pontitianus, and the other with him, that had walked in other parts of the garden, came in search of them to the same place; and finding them, reminded them to return, for the day was now far spent. But they relating their resolution and purpose, and how that will was begun, and settled in them, begged them, if they would not join, not to molest them. But the others, though nothing altered from their former selves, did yet bewail themselves, (as he affirmed,) and piously congratulated them, recommending themselves to their prayers; and so, with hearts lingering on the earth, went away to the palace. But the other two, fixing their heart on heaven, remained in the cottage. And both had affianced brides, who when they heard hereof, also dedicated their virginity to God.

"Such was the story of Pontitianus; but Thou, O Lord, while he was speaking, didst turn me round towards myself, taking me from behind my back, where I had placed me, unwilling to observe myself; and setting me before

my face, that I might see how foul I was, how crooked and defiled, bespotted and ulcerous. And I beheld and stood aghast ; and whither to flee from myself I found not. And if I sought to turn mine eye from off myself, he went on with his relation, and Thou again didst set me over against myself, and thrustedst me before my eyes, that *I might find out mine iniquity, and hate it.* I had known it, but made as though I saw it not, winked at it, and forgot it.

“But now, the more ardently I loved those, whose healthful affections I heard of, that they had resigned themselves wholly to Thee to be cured, the more did I abhor myself, when compared with them. For many of my years (some twelve) had now run out with me since my nineteenth, when, upon the reading of Cicero’s Hortensius, I was stirred to an earnest love of wisdom ; and still I was deferring to reject mere earthly felicity, and give myself to search out that, whereof not the finding only, but the very search, was to be preferred to the treasures and kingdoms of the world, though already found, and to the pleasures of the body, though spread around me at my will. But I wretched, most wretched, in the very commencement of my early youth, had begged chastity of Thee, and said, ‘Give me chastity and continency, only not yet.’ For I feared lest Thou shouldest hear me soon, and soon cure me of the disease of concupiscence, which I wished to have satisfied, rather than extinguished. And I had wandered through crooked ways in a sacrilegious superstition, not indeed assured thereof, but as preferring it to the others which I did not seek religiously, but opposed maliciously.

“And I had thought, that I therefore deferred from day to day to reject the hopes of this world, and follow Thee only, because there did not appear aught certain, whither to direct my course. And now was the day come wherein I was to be laid bare to myself, and my conscience was to upbraid me. ‘Where art thou now, my tongue ? Thou saidst, that for an uncertain truth thou likedst not to



cast off the baggage of vanity ; now, it is certain, and yet that burthen still oppresseth thee, while they who neither have so worn themselves out with seeking it, nor for ten years and more have been thinking thereon, have had their shoulders lightened, and received wings to fly away.' Thus was I gnawed within, and exceedingly confounded with an horrible shame, while Pontitianus was so speaking. And he having brought to a close his tale and the business he came for, went his way ; and I into myself ? What said I not against myself ? with what scourges of condemnation lashed I not my soul, that it might follow me, striving to go after Thee ! Yet it drew back : refused, but excused not itself. All arguments were spent and confuted ; there remained a mute shrinking ; and she feared, as she would death, to be restrained from the flux of that custom, whereby she was wasting to death.

“Then in this great contention of my inward dwelling, which I had strongly raised against my soul, in *the chamber* of my heart, troubled in mind and countenance, I turned upon Alypius. ‘What ails us?’ I exclaim : ‘what is it? what heardest thou ? The unlearned start up and *take heaven by force*, and we with our learning, and without heart, lo, where we wallow in flesh and blood ! Are we ashamed to follow, because others are gone before, and not ashamed not even to follow ?’ Some such words I uttered, and my fever of mind tore me away from him, while he, gazing on me in astonishment, kept silence. For it was not my wonted tone ; and my forehead, cheeks, eyes, colour, tone of voice, spake my mind more than the words I uttered. A little garden there was to our lodging, which we had the use of, as of the whole house ; for the master of the house, our host, was not living there. Thither had the tumult of my breast hurried me, where no man might hinder the hot contention wherein I had engaged with myself, until it could end as Thou knewest, I knew not. Only I was healthfully distracted and dying, to live ; knowing what evil thing I was, and not knowing what good thing I was shortly to become. I retired then into the garden, and

Alypius, on my steps. For his presence did not lessen my privacy; or how could he forsake me so disturbed? We sate down as far removed as might be from the house. I was troubled in spirit, most vehemently indignant that I entered not into Thy will and covenant, O my God, which *all my bones cried out* unto me to enter, and praised it to the skies. And therein we enter not by ships, or chariots, or feet, no, move not so far as I had come from the house to that place where we were sitting. For, not to go only, but to go in thither was nothing else but to will to go, but to will resolutely and thoroughly; not to turn and toss, this way and that, a maimed and half-divided will, struggling, with one part sinking as another rose."

The whole account of this struggle is deeply interesting; but our limits, already exceeded, will permit us only to give Augustine's account of its termination.

"So was I speaking, and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when lo! I heard from a neighbouring house a voice, as of boy or girl, I know not, chanting, and oft repeating, 'Take up and read; Take up and read.' Instantly, my countenance altered, I began to think most intently, whether children were wont in any kind of play to sing such words: nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So, checking the torrent of my tears, I arose; interpreting it to be no other than a command from God, to open the book, and read the first chapter I should find. For I had heard of Antony, that coming in during the reading of the gospel, he received the admonition, as if what was being read, was spoken to him; *Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow Me.* And by such oracle he was forthwith converted unto Thee. Eagerly then I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I laid the volume of the apostle, when I arose thence. I seized, opened, and in silence read that section, on which my eyes first fell: *Not in rioting and drunkenness, nor in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and*

*make not provision for the flesh*, in concupiscence. No further would I read; nor needed I: for instantly at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away.

“Then putting my finger between, or some other mark, I shut the volume, and with a calmed countenance made it known to Alypius. And what was wrought in him, which I knew not, he thus shewed me. He asked to see what I had read: I shewed him; and he looked even further than I had read, and I knew not what followed. This followed, *him that is weak in faith, receive*; which he applied to himself, and disclosed to me. And by this admonition was he strengthened; and by a good resolution and purpose, and most corresponding to his character, wherein he did always very far differ from me for the better, without any turbulent delay he joined me. Thence we go in to my mother; we tell her; she rejoiceth: we relate in order how it took place; she leaps for joy, and triumpheth, and blesseth Thee, *Who art able to do above that which we ask or think*; for she perceived that Thou hadst given her more for me, than she was wont to beg by her pitiful and most sorrowful groanings. For Thou convertedst me unto Thyself, so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope of this world, standing in that rule of faith, where Thou hadst shewed me unto her in a vision, so many years before. And Thou didst *convert her mourning into joy*, much more plentiful than she had desired, and in a much more precious and purer way than she erst required, by having grandchildren of my body.”

His conversion took place, as it seems, in the year 386, and about three weeks after he resigned his school, and retired to Cassiciacum, the villa of his friend Verecundus, to prepare for Baptism. He had still much both to learn and to unlearn, and he gave himself up to devotional and penitential exercises, while his active mind was employed in the composition of some of those works which he afterwards published, and in directing the studies of his son Adeodatus, and of the two sons of his friend Romanianus.



After some months of preparation, he returned to Milan, and then received the Sacrament of Baptism at the hands of St Ambrose; his son Adeodatus, and his friend Alypius, being baptized at the same time.

He now determined to return to Africa with his mother and the friends who had already shared his retirement; but on their journey Monica died. The object of her life was now accomplished: her beloved son, was a Christian: she could say, "Lord, Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." Augustine mourned her loss, and his mind often reverted to her in after years. Who can describe the feelings of an aged Christian, when tracing all the virtues by God's grace developed in his soul, to the tender fostering care of a pious and affectionate mother! "I have felt," he said, "as though my life were rent in twain!"

He could not, under the vivid impression of grief, make up his mind to return to Africa, he repaired therefore once more to Rome, where he began to write and preach against his former associates, the Manichees. He published several treatises on this subject. After spending a year and a half at Rome, he, at length, returned to Africa; and there, at Thagaste, he led a retired life with his friends, in pious exercises and good works. They had but one table and one purse; for immediately, on his arrival in Africa, he sold all he had to give unto the poor, reserving barely what was sufficient for his own support. This proof he gave of his sincerity. Their time was passed in fasting, prayer, almsdeeds, scripture-reading, meditation, and such labour as was necessary for the support of the community.

Three years thus passed away, during which time he wrote several treatises, and buried his son Adeodatus, of whom he speaks in terms of unqualified praise. Meantime his fame had spread, and he was fearful lest he should be called from his peaceful retirement to some high post in the Church: he dreaded the responsibilities of the ministerial office, and doubtless felt, that although in the laver of regeneration, his sins had been washed away, a humbler

situation became the penitent. But when he was on a visit to a friend holding an office under the government at Hippo Regius, it so happened that a presbyter was wanted in the church there, and by the bishop, Valerius, and the unanimous wish of the people, Augustine was appointed to the office, which very reluctantly, and not without tears, he accepted. His tears were misunderstood by the people, who supposed him to be grieved at not receiving an appointment as bishop, and they sought to console him by telling him that the office of presbyter was little inferior to that of the episcopate. Valerius was a Greek, and not being able to express himself, without difficulty, in the Latin language, was the more anxious to secure the services of Augustine. He was influenced by a principle beautifully expounded by St Augustine himself, in his commentary on St John: "Do not complain, if some have gifts which you have not. Cherish a spirit of unity, and they will seem only to hold them for you. Let us then not think of anything in ourselves, but let us solely love the unity of the Church. Let us love ourselves in this unity,—the riches of Christian charity will supply the deficiencies of our individual indigence; and what we possess not ourselves, we shall find abundantly in this wealth in common. Take away envy, and what I have is yours, and what you have is mine. Charity makes every think our own."

St Augustine, in his new office, exemplified by his life the charity he thus could preach. He built an hospital at Hippo, for the reception of strangers, and established the custom of giving away garments annually to the poor. He asserted every where the claims of the poor upon the rich; and to purchase the redemption of captives sold into slavery, he even parted with some of the sacred vessels. He repressed the love feasts, or *agapæ*, which, from an innocent origin, had descended into abuse and immorality, and substituted services of reading and chanting in their place. As a specimen of his wise teaching, we may give

the following extract from one of his sermons ; alluding to the Eucharist, he says, "Jesus Christ has given us this sacrament, in the form of meat and drink, of a repast ; to teach us that it is a nourishment we ought to use, not rarely, and only on extraordinary occasions, but often : as we take every day the food that supports us. Take, then, this divine nourishment as it may do you good ; and if it does you good every day, take it every day. Communicate more or less frequently, as the Holy Spirit of God may inspire you ; but as to any habitual preparation, live so that you may always be in a state to be strengthened by the bread of life."

In the year 395, Augustine was consecrated as bishop coadjutor in the see of Hippo, and he became soon after the successor of Valerius. In the house belonging to the see he now took up his residence, forming there a religious or clerical society, consisting of presbyters and deacons, who gave up all personal property, and were supported upon a common fund : the ecclesiastical revenue was managed by the clergy, Augustine being the auditor of the accounts ; and he appropriated no portion of it to his private use. He devoted two hours every day, at the gates of the church, to the amicable adjustment of disputes among his flock ; and this, let it be observed, was the origin of ecclesiastical courts. He devoted himself to the care of youth, and to the instruction of persons of maturer years preparing for the ministry. At the same time he was engaged in writing, not only on theology, but upon other subjects, for the good of his pupils ; and maintained a most extensive correspondence with all the great and the good of his age, by whom he was called "the representative of posterity," in allusion to the grandeur and penetration of his genius, which soared far beyond the age in which he lived. He did not give in to the fanaticism of the age, which led some persons, in their dread of luxury, to become filthy in their persons : while some of the brethren would go barefoot, he always wore shoes or



sandals, saying, with pleasantry, "I admire your hardiness, but bear with my weakness." His garments, though plain, were always good: "It is fit that they should be such," said he, "as I can decently give to a brother who may be in need." He did not abstain from wine, though he took it in moderation; his table was hospitably served, and he was careful that no conversation should be held at it, but such as ministered to edifying. He had written over his hall the distych:

*Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam,  
Hanc mensam vetitam noverit esse sibi.*

*Him, to this table I do not invite,  
Who loves by words an absent friend to bite.*

The establishment of Augustine became a model of the monastic life now common in the east. Religious houses on the same plan were multiplied throughout the provinces of Africa. Carthage was full of them. In some, the monks lived by the labour of their hands, following the precept of the apostle: "Is there any man who will not work, neither let him eat." But in many of them, corruptions had commenced, and to the reform of abuses in these establishments, Augustine resolutely addressed himself. He especially expresses his indignation against certain mendicant monks, "who go about," he says, "from province to province, resting nowhere, and changing their abode every day. Some carry with them the relics of saints, or what they pretend to be such, and set a price upon them; others rest solely on their habit and religious profession; others, not standing at a lie, pretend that they are going a long journey to see their friends. All beg—all expect something, either to relieve the affected poverty which makes them rich, or to reward the show of sanctity, which in them is nothing but hypocrisy."

Thus vigilant was Augustine in detecting and in correcting abuses on the one hand, and in encouraging excellence on the other. We may indeed learn how he actually discharged the duties of the episcopal office, from

the apology he made to the people when his ministry was drawing to a close. The errors he deplores, shew that they were occasional, not habitual; and we infer that his habitual conduct was the reverse of that which, because it was occasional, affected him with grief; in his sermons he says: "I have not presumption enough to imagine that I have never given any of you subject of complaint against me, during the time I have exercised the functions of the episcopacy. If, then, overwhelmed at times with the care and duties of my office, I have not granted audience to you when you asked it, or if I have received you with an air of coldness or abstraction,—if I have ever spoken to any one with severity; if, by any thing whatsoever in my answers, I have wounded the feelings of the afflicted who implored my succour;—if, occupied with other thoughts, I have neglected or deferred assisting the poor, or showed, by any displeasure in my countenance, that I deemed them too importunate in their solicitations; lastly, if I have betrayed too much acuteness of feeling with respect to the false suspicions that some have entertained against me, and if, through the weakness of human nature, I have conceived unjust opinions of others, in return, pardon me, O my people, to whom I confess all my faults,—pardon me for them, I conjure you, and so shall you also obtain the pardon of your sins."

This passage the celebrated Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, always kept in his writing desk, to remind him constantly of the duties and humility incumbent upon his sacred office.

The life of a pastor labouring among his flock is the happiest destiny of man in this world. But happiness here is never unalloyed. The faithful pastor has not only to tend the sheep and feed the lambs, he has also to drive away the wolves. And Augustine was obliged to take an active part in the controversies of his age, while, by his skill in those controversies, he has established a claim upon the gratitude of posterity.

Scarcely was he appointed bishop, when he was com-

elled to take part against the Donatists. On occasion of the choice of Cecilianus to be bishop of Carthage, in the year 311, the minority were so violently opposed to him, that they elected another bishop, Majorinus, on the ground that Cecilianus had been consecrated by a Traditor, i. e. one of those who, in the time of persecution, had saved himself by delivering up the sacred books to the magistrates. Majorinus was succeeded in 313 by Donatus, from whom, and Donatus bishop of Casa Nigra, one of its most zealous supporters, the party took its name. "The spirit of schism," says Döllinger, "grew so powerfully with it as it advanced, that, according to the testimony of St Augustine, in Numidia alone, where the Donatists were indeed the most numerous, and where they formed the great majority of the inhabitants, their different parties could not be enumerated. Towards the close of the fourth century, they had four hundred bishops in Africa. A law of the emperor Honorius, in 405, occasioned by the renewed violences of the Circumcelliones, commanded these men, under the severest penalties, to re-unite themselves with the Catholic Church; and as, at the same time, St Augustine wearied not in combating against the Donatists with all the power of his mighty mind, and had brought into the clearest light their subterfuges and sophisms, many of them returned to the Church. In the year 411, a conference, at which there were present two hundred and eighty-six Catholic, and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist, bishops, was held at Carthage, at the command of the emperor, and under the superintendence of the prætor, Marcellinus. The Catholic bishops pledged themselves, in the event of re-union, to receive the Donatist bishops with all their ecclesiastical dignities,—an act of self-denial which was met with pride and contempt. 'The sons of the martyrs can have nothing to do with the race of traditors,' was the scornful reply, that had been before returned to the Catholic offers of peace. By endless evasions, and petty contrivances, the Donatists sought to



defer, or entirely to avoid, the principal subjects of controversy. At length St Augustine was enabled to refute the dogmatical proposition which his adversaries finally advanced: he proved that the Church, by the unavoidable tolerance of wicked men, had not thereby forfeited its character of sanctity, truth, and catholicity. At the conclusion of the conference, Marcellinus declared that the Donatists had been defeated, and ordered that the laws against them should be put into full execution. Another and a more decisive law of the year 413, produced the effect that many of the Donatist communities passed together with their bishops over to the Church. At the death of St Augustine, in 430, the schism had generally disappeared. But as late as the time of St Gregory the Great, there were still remnants of the sect to be found; and the complaints of this pope, as well as of the African bishops, prove how unquiet these few Donatists still were, and how frequently Catholics were re-baptized by them."

The other controversy in which St Augustine was involved, was that which originated with Pelagius. Pelagius, or Morgan, was a native of Scotland or Wales, and began to disseminate his heresy about the year 405. The principal errors of the Pelagian heresy have respect to the spiritual strength and state of man, and the grace of God. The Pelagians asserted that there is no imputation of original sin to any man, nor any original corruption consequent upon the fall: that Adam was mortal in his nature and condition before his transgression, and that death is not the punishment of sin: that the strength of free-will and of human nature is uncorrupt and entire, and sufficient for the beginning of every good work, for the prosecution of it: and for persevering in it, that man can will and perform whatever is good, and hence, that it is of God we are men, but of ourselves that we are just: that there are three ways of salvation, viz: by the law of nature, by the law of Moses, and by the law of Christ: that the works of the heathen are good and acceptable to

God, although performed without the aid of divine grace : that perfection is attainable in this life, either actual, so that believers do not sin, or possible, that they might live without sin. Other opinions of the Pelagians tended to overthrow the grace of God, but these are the main points.

At the first appearance of Pelagianism, says the historian before quoted, “ a mighty champion of the Catholic faith arose in Africa, in the person of the great bishop of Hippo. For twenty years he continued to combat, untired, against this heresy, with all the powers of his rich mind, and of his profound and enlightened piety. In 412, at the request of the tribune Marcellinus, he wrote his books *On merit and the remission of sin* : in 414, he refuted the work of Pelagius *On Nature*, by his work *On Nature and Grace* ; and in 416, incited by the issue of the council of Diospolis, he wrote his book *On the actions of Pelagius*. The doctrines which, in the name of the Church, (we speak not here of his own private views, or of expressions which escaped from him in the heat of controversy,) St Augustine opposed in these works to the errors of Pelagius, were in substance the following :

“ Since the fall of our first parents by sin, man is not in that primitive state in which Adam was created, but, in consequence of that sin, has lost sanctifying grace, is subjected to death and corporal sufferings, and feels within himself the sin of concupiscence, or an impelling inclination to evil. Hence the free will of man is now different from that which was in Adam before his fall. Of free will, such as Pelagius understood it, that is as a state of equilibrium between good and evil, or a perfectly equal facility of performing good or evil, it must now be said, that it has been destroyed by original sin ; that man, by the concupiscence which dwells within him, is more inclined to evil than to good, and that he, therefore, stands in need of grace, in order that his original state of indifference or equilibrium may be restored. But free will was not in reality destroyed or annihilated by the fall ; it was deprived of its original justice, it was weakened and

wounded. The power of choice was still left to man : when he commits that which is evil, he is not borne irresistibly onwards to the commission ; and when he performs that which is good, he is not overpowered by the impulse of grace ; but in both cases he acts with liberty, and feels that he can choose either the good or the evil. He receives, however, the power of doing that which is good, from sanctifying grace, which was merited for him by the blood of Christ, and which is not a mere assistance or help, but a remedy, a medicine. This interior grace, which enlightens the mind, and influences the will, must precede the will, and raise it above its natural powers : it is an entirely free gift of God, which we have not merited, nor could ever merit, and without which it were impossible for man to perform any supernatural or meritorious action. Even with grace, man cannot totally free himself from the weakness and infirmity of his fallen nature : the best of men, and the most exalted by grace, will sometimes yield to temptations to less sins."

Pelagius and his disciple Celestius were condemned in 416, by the African bishops assembled at Carthage, and by those of Numidia assembled at Milevum. But in 417 they gained over Zosimus, bishop of Rome, who rashly declared them sound in the faith, and unjustly persecuted by their adversaries. But the African bishops, with Augustine at their head, not dreaming of any papal infallibility, were little affected by this declaration of their mistaken "co-bishop." They resolutely maintained the judgment they had pronounced in this matter, and strengthened it by their exhortations, their letters, and their writings, until the pope himself, convinced of his error, thought proper to condemn with the utmost severity the two heretics whom he had honoured with his approbation, and covered with his protection. It is unnecessary to pursue further the history of Pelagianism ; it is sufficient to say, that the Britons, the Gauls, and the Africans in their councils, and the emperors by their edicts, demolished this heresy in its infancy. It received its final blow at the



council of Ephesus, We may add that it possessed this peculiarity, that it never formed a sect, but being defended only by a few learned men, remained almost unknown to the people.

We will not conclude this reference to the controversial labors of this distinguished man, without placing before the reader the following quotation from his treatise *De Virginitate* :

“Do not, my brethren, take umbrage at seeing sinners and heretics among you. What can you know of their future state,—nay, more, what can you know of their present state, in the sight of God? You regard them with pity, as members separated from the body of the Church; but God may look down upon them with complacency, as already re-united to it, and more faithful than yourselves, in the duties of piety. You see what they are to-day, but you do not see what they may be to-morrow, what they may be during the remainder of their lives, what they may be at the moment of their death.”

We may easily imagine how tenderly a man, who could thus plead for his enemies, would be attached to his friends. The same sentiment which, in early life, Augustine had urged in extenuation of his errors,—“I ask only to love and to be loved,”—now expanded itself, in all the purity with which Divine Grace invested it, among his people, and those who sought his succour. “Grant me,” he says, in one of his addresses, “the lowest place, O Lord, in Thy kingdom, but let me have the happiness of seeing my children about me.” It is in allusion to this glowing temperament of the soul, so admirably adapted for the reception of the sublimest impressions, that St Augustine is represented in the Catholic Church under the symbol of a flaming heart, and designated by the title of the “Doctor of Grace.”

His whole system of ethics is indeed beautifully summed up by himself, in his treatise on Faith and Works—“The Saviour, in speaking of righteous works, reduces them into three classes: fasting, alms-giving and prayer. In

fasting, he includes every thing that chastises and mortifies the flesh ; in alms-giving, every sort of benevolence towards our neighbour, whether in giving or forgiving ; and in prayer, all the exercises of holy inclinations."

Whilst Augustine was thus actively employed in Africa, an event occurred, which carried consternation through the Roman world. In 410, Rome was taken and sacked by the Goths, under Alaric. The philosophers and pagans began to attack the Christian religion, and to point out how, since its establishment, the world had been continually growing worse. Many, even of the Christians, were sad and desponding. These circumstances gave rise to the greatest and most learned of all Augustine's works, the treatise *De Civitate Dei*, in which he undertook to defend the workings of God's providence, and to show the hollowness and insufficiency of paganism. It was not long before the evil was brought nearer home. The religious dissensions in Africa had been a powerful assistance to the designs of barbarian enemies. Genseric, the king of the Vandals, in Spain, undertook to support the Donatists in their struggle against the Catholics ; in 429 he was admitted into Africa by the treachery of count Boniface, and joining himself with the Moors, ravaged the richest districts of the Roman province. Boniface repented of his treason, to which he had been driven by imaginary injuries ; but he was unable to rid his province of the foe whom he had thus introduced, and, after repeated defeats, was at length compelled to shut himself up in the town of Hippo, which was closely besieged by Genseric and his Vandals. Augustine supported the courage of his flock by his exhortations and consolations ; but he seems to have been apprehensive of the result, and he offered up fervent prayer, that he might be spared the sight of the destruction of his episcopal city. The request of the bishop was granted, for in the third month of the siege, August 28th, 430, he quitted this mortal stage. When, in the following year, the Vandals were in possession of Hippo, they respected his library and his body : the latter was carried

to Sardinia by the Catholic bishops, who were driven out of Africa by the barbarians; and in the eighth century Luitprand, king of Lombardy, is said to have removed it to Pavia, where, in the church of St Peter, the tomb is still to be seen in which it reposes.

The works of St Augustine are valued by every Christian capable of perusing them; and, in a controversial point of view, they are peculiarly valuable to the Anglican divine, as affording him materials for maintaining his cause against the Romanist. The best edition of his collective works, is that of the Benedictines, in 11 vols, folio, published in 1679, and the following years. A re-impression, with some additions, by Le Clerc, appeared at Antwerp, in 1700-3, in 12 vols, folio. The chief authorities for this article are the *Confessions of St Augustine*, and a portion of his works, together with his life by *St Possidius* his disciple; *Fluery*, *Tillemont*, and the works referred to in the article itself.

AUGUSTINE, sometimes called, like the father whose life is given in the preceding article, St Austin, was the first archbishop of Canterbury, and one of the founders, under God, of the present established Church in this country, the other Churches in England and Wales having gradually merged into that which is to be traced back to Augustine, and through him to the apostles.

Nothing is known of Augustine's origin or early life. He was prior of the Benedictine monastery of St Andrew, at Rome, when Gregory the Great, in the sixth year of his episcopate, selected him to be the chief of the missionaries, whom he benevolently dispatched to convert the Anglo-Saxons.

The greater part of our country was at this time involved in heathen darkness; and before we enter upon a consideration of the labours of Augustine, it will be necessary to make the reader acquainted with the state of affairs in England.

It is certain that the Church had been established here



in the apostolic age ; and by many historians it is supposed that the foundations of it were laid by the apostle Paul, when he penetrated "the utmost bounds of the west." The wars and persecutions that followed the first preaching of the gospel in Britain, have destroyed all the certain records of Christianity in these early times ; but the traditions which lingered in the land of visits from Aristobulus, whom St Paul salutes in the epistle to the Romans ; of Pudens and Claudia, greeted in the second epistle to Timothy, Claudia being, according to Martial, a British lady ; and of Joseph of Arimathea ; these traditions shew that there must have been some communion between our British ancestors and the primo-primitive Christians of the east, although from the loss of early records, we are unable to speak with accuracy when any particular claim is brought forward. But if there be doubt as to the names of our first apostles in Britain, there is no doubt as to the early conversion of our country. Of the early martyrs of the British Church, Aaron, Julius, and St Alban, mention has been already made : (see Aaron, Alban). At the council of Arles, in 314, British bishops were in attendance ; and at the great œcumenical council at Nice, in 325, the British Church was represented, since we are told that the Nicene Creed was received "with the unanimous consent of the Churches of Italy, Africa, Egypt, Spain, France, and Britain, and in the Asiatic dioceses."

The soundness of the faith, to which at Arles and at Nice the British bishops gave testimony, the British Church never lost as a whole, though twice her orthodoxy was put to the proof. The Arian heresy, after nearly subverting Christianity, found its way at last into the British isles, and when that was overcome, and the country was in its deepest depression, after being deserted by the Romans, the Church in Britain became tainted with the Pelagian heresy, of which an account has been given in the preceding article. But by the assistance of two French

bishops, Germanus and Lupus, a timely reformation was effected, and the Church was restored to orthodoxy.

With the exception of an ill-judged embassy of Lucius to pope Eleutherius, the Britons had little communication with the bishops of Rome. They acknowledged them only as bishops of a particular diocese, or at most as the heads of a patriarchate, on which they did not think that the British church ought in any way to be dependent. They were so far from receiving orders from the pope, that they were ignorant of his pretensions: indeed the papal pretensions, as the expression is now understood, are of a date long subsequent to the period under consideration.

Such was the British church, when the unfortunate Britons sought the aid of the Saxons against the Picts and Scots. The result of this measure is well known. After many years of ineffectual resistance, the Britons were compelled to yield to the rule of the Saxons, who, introduced as allies, became their deadliest enemies; and with the Saxons, heathenism and idolatry were re-established. The meaner sort of persons remained as slaves to the Saxons; but the great bulk of the Britons withdrew to Wales and Cornwall, and with their people the archbishops of London and York took their departure. Theonas was the last archbishop of London. It was not till the land had been watered by the blood of martyrs, however, that this step was taken. "Priests," we are informed by the venerable Bede, "were every where massacred at the altars; and prelates with their flocks, all respect to honour being set at naught, were swept away by fire and sword, without any to give burial to their mangled corpses."

The Saxons despised the Britons, and the Britons very naturally regarded the Saxons with feelings of national antipathy. While, therefore, we blame the British church for not attempting the conversion of the Saxons, we must pause to consider whether it was possible to make the attempt with any probability of success.

Such was the state of affairs when Ethelbert, king of Kent, under the title of Bretwalda, obtained chief authority in the Saxon heptarchy.

The fact of there being a nation in England of unconverted heathens became known to Gregory the Great, through circumstances which will be narrated in his life, when that great and good man was a monk in the monastery of St Andrews, at Rome. He had indeed himself set out as a missionary to the Anglo-Saxons, when the bishop of Rome was obliged to recall him after he had proceeded on his journey two or three days, by a remonstrance, for having permitted him to depart, having been addressed to him by the clergy and people of the city, unwilling to lose so distinguished a member of their church.

When he became bishop of Rome himself, he determined to send out missionaries, and at the head of them, as we have stated before, he placed Augustine. In thus acting he violated no law of the Catholic Church, for both the French and the British bishops, for causes best known to themselves, had neglected the duty which devolved upon them, as nearest neighbours of the heathen Saxons. And if the church at Rome had the means of doing what the neighbouring bishops were unable to accomplish, the bishop of that church was fully justified in availing himself of them, to effect so desirable an object. We have the very highest authority, that of Gregory himself, for asserting that he did not institute the mission under any notion of his being supreme pontiff, or universal bishop, for he declared any such assumption to betoken "the pride and character of anti-Christ." He had himself complained of John, bishop of Constantinople, for assuming the title of universal bishop, and this, not on the ground of his taking a title which belonged only to the bishop of Rome, but on the principle, that such a title could of right pertain to no single bishop of any see. In writing to the emperor, he says, "That the innovation in the style was not much in the quantity, and alphabet; but the bulk of the iniquity was weighty enough to sink and



destroy all. And therefore I am bold to say, he continues, that whoever uses or affects the style of universal bishop, has the pride and character of anti-Christ, and is insome manner his harbinger in this haughty quality of mounting himself above the rest of his order. And indeed both the one and the other seem to split upon the same rock. For, as pride makes anti-Christ strain his pretensions up to Godhead; so, whoever is ambitious to be called the only or universal prelate, prefers himself to a distinguishing superiority, and rises as it were upon the ruins of the rest."—*Epist. Gregor. Lib. 6. Ep. 30.*

And in his letter to Anastasius, bishop of Antioch, he has these words upon the same subject: "Cyriacus and myself can never be made friends, and come to any good understanding, unless he is willing to give up the vanity and usurpation of his style. This is a point of the last importance; neither can we comply with the innovation, without betraying religion, and adulterating the faith of the Catholic Church. For, not to mention the invasion upon the honour of your character, if any one bishop must have the title of universal, if that universal prelate should happen to miscarry, the whole Church must sink with him." &c.—*Epist. Lib. 6. Ep. 24.*

And in his letter to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, we have more to the same purpose. Here pope Gregory complains to this patriarch, for saluting him with the title of universal bishop in his superscription. "I beg of you, he says, not to salute me in such language for the future; for, by giving another more than belongs to him, you lessen yourself. As for me, I am but a brother of the order, neither do I desire to flourish in respect, but in behaviour: nor do I reckon that an honour to myself, which is paid me at the expense and prejudice of my brethren. My reputation lies in the honour of the universal Church, and in preserving the dignity of the rest of the prelates. I am only then respected to my satisfaction, when every one else has the privileges of his character secured to him. Now, if your holiness, (for so

he calls the patriarch of Alexandria) treats me with the title of universal bishop, you exclude yourself from an equality of privilege. But, pray, let us have none of this. Let us not feed our vanity with pompous appellations; for this is the way to weaken the grace of charity, and disserve us in our best qualities. Your holiness may remember, that this style of universal bishop was offered my predecessors by the council of Chalcedon, and by some other prelates several times since; but none of them would ever accept the compliment, or make use of the title, but chose rather to maintain the honour of the whole episcopal college: looking upon this as the best expedient to preserve themselves in the esteem of God Almighty.”—*Gregor. Epist. Lib. 7. Ep. 30.*

Even Paschal II, in 1100, only claimed to be head of the church within the confines of Europe. In writing to the French monarchs, Gregory accounted for his sending missionaries to England because “we are informed,” says he, “that the English nation is desirous to turn Christian; but the clergy of your nation (the French) refuse to assist them in their good motions, and encourage their piety.” Of the existence of the British church he was probably at that time ignorant.

The missionaries under Augustine left Rome in the summer of 596, and proceeded as far as Aix. Here they were alarmed at the reports they received of the fierce nature of those for whose conversion they were sent, and they determined to abandon the enterprise. Augustine was sent to Rome to express the desire of the whole party to give up an expedition so full of peril, labour and uncertainty. Gregory’s noble spirit was not so easily damped; he would by no means give up the mission, and Augustine and his companions, unless the mission were given up, could not with honour retire from it. They proceeded therefore on their journey.

The way had been providentially prepared before them. The conduct of the Christian Britons, who had remained in slavery among the Saxons, had made a favourable im-

pression on the minds of their masters ; for although the Church and the freemen had retired to the fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall, individual Christians were to be found in other parts of the country. And Ethelbert, king of Kent, and the most influential of the Saxon monarchs, had married Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, who stipulated, before marriage, that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion. Luidhard, bishop of Senlis, attended her, and he performed service in the church of St Martin, which had been erected at Canterbury, by the Romans, and escaped the devastation of the Saxons. Luidhard was thus the “harbinger of Augustine.”

In the spring of the year, 597, the missionaries landed in the isle of Thanet, most probably at a place called Ebbesfleet, and sent forthwith a deputation to king Ethelbert, who gave immediate orders that they should be hospitably entertained. In the course of a few days he gave them an audience at Richborough, in Thanet. He received them in the open air, a preventive, according to the superstitions of the Saxons, of sorcery. The Christians approached the king in solemn procession, chanting a litany of prayers for the salvation of themselves and of those to whom they were sent. Before them was carried a banner, bearing a picture of our Lord and Saviour, and a silver cross,—not a *crucifix*, for a crucifix was not used in the Church till a century later. At the command of the king they preached to him and his nobles the word of life. In the *Acta Sanctorum* there is a speech assigned to Augustine on the occasion, which, from internal evidence, was the invention of a later age ; one Romish writer admits that the speech was given “from tradition apparently or *pious conjecture*.” “These,” said Ethelbert, “are fair words and good promises that you have brought ; but forasmuch as they are new and unknown, we may not yet consent to forsake the ways to which we, with all the Angles, have so long adhered. However, as you have come hither from a foreign land, and it seems you wish to make known to us the things that you believe to be good and true, we will



not distress you : we will give you friendly entertainment, and supply you with what you want. Neither do we forbid you to preach and make what converts you can to the faith of your religion."

In accordance with this promise, king Ethelbert provided the missionaries with a residence at Canterbury, the metropolis of his kingdom, and with all the necessities of life ; and there they had permission to preach and teach the faith of Christ. The missionaries entered the town in solemn procession, with the cross and holy banner borne before them, and chanting an anthem, taken from the ninth chapter of the book of Daniel,—“ O Lord, according to all Thy righteousness, let Thine anger and Thy fury, we beseech Thee, be turned away from this city, and from the holy place, for we have sinned. Hallelujah !”

“ Here,” says the venerable Bede, our chief authority in this article, “ they lived like the apostles ; frequent in prayers, watchings, and fastings. They preached the word of life to all who were willing to hear it, receiving from their disciples so much only as was necessary for bare subsistence, and in all things acting in strict conformity with their profession and doctrine. They seemed indeed to put aside the good things of this world, as property which did not belong to them. Disappointments and hindrances they bore with a calm and cheerful spirit, and were prepared to die, if such were the will of God, in defence of the truth they preached.”

Queen Bertha’s church of St Martin’s, a church still existing at Canterbury, was consigned to the use of the missionaries, and the pagans were thus witnesses of the daily devotion of their new instructors. They had a mighty work before them, but they did not plead the excess of their labours as an excuse for not fasting: though wearied they watched ; and very far were they from supposing that prayer, either public or private, is a waste of time, as is in these days profanely urged by many who forget that God’s work is done not merely by man’s activity, but by God Himself, who, if He uses the instrumentality of man, does

not need it, so as to justify the omission of our duty to ourselves, when we are seeking the good of others. The fasting, the prayers, the example, and the preaching of the missionaries were so effective, that numerous conversions daily took place, until at length the king himself confessed himself a convert, and received the sacrament of Baptism. After the Baptism of Ethelbert, they had greater liberty than before, and began to build new churches, or to restore those which had been built in British times, and had now become dilapidated. The example of Ethelbert was followed by vast numbers of persons ; but though the king shewed especial favour to those who were added daily to the Church, “as he felt they had now become his fellow-citizens, not only in an earthly, but a heavenly kingdom,” he would not permit any to be driven into Christianity against his will, having learnt from his teachers that the service of Christ should be voluntary, and not forced ; the result of love, and not the effect of fear. Ethelbert began at once to provide a certain endowment for the Church, by giving a piece of land for a cathedral, with a residence for the bishop attached to it, and appointing other possession for it.

The venerable Bede asserts that king Ethelbert was attracted by “the very consoling promises made to him by these holy men, proved to be true by the many miracles they performed.” As he is our chief authority for this portion of history, it is necessary to state this fact. Moreover, there is in existence a letter from Gregory the Great to Augustine, exhorting him not to be puffed up by the fact that miracles had been performed by him. To this we must add that the same cause for miracles existed in the case of Augustine, as existed in the primitive Church : he was engaged in converting a whole people, in laying the foundation of a church which, especially since its reformation, has been a model for the other churches of the world ; and which, in the persecutions of anti-Christ, that are to precede the second coming of our Lord, when the Catholic Church is to be reduced to a very

small scale, from the falling away of many, may be destined to hold a more permanent and distinguished place among the churches of the world, than that which it occupies even now. The legendary miracles, which are recorded by later historians as having been performed by Augustine, may be at once dismissed: but with respect to the fact, that miracles of some kind were wrought by Augustine, this is witnessed by his contemporaries, and stated in the epitaph composed immediately after his death, and the reader will deal with this fact as he may please. We may remark, that Augustine does not appear to have been a man of commanding powers of mind, and he certainly was not acquainted with the mysteries of science.

It is said, that in the course of a month ten thousand of the English received the grace of life, so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed; and now within five months of Ethelbert's baptism, Augustine repaired to France, and there was consecrated, by Vigilius, archbishop of Arles, assisted by the French bishops, on the 16th or 17th of November, 597. It so happens, that we possess the ancient office for consecrating a bishop in the church of France. It is to be found in the *Missale Franconum*, which is supposed to be about the date of A.D. 550. It consists of laying on of hands, an address to the people, and the following prayer:

“O God of all honours, God of all dignities, which minister to Thy glory in the sacred orders; God, who instructing Thy servant Moses with the affection of a secret friend, among other documents of heavenly culture, commandedst the chosen Aaron to be clothed in a mystical garment at the sacred [offices], that succeeding posterity might gather sense of understanding from the examples of the ancients, that no age might be wanting in instruction of doctrine; and since that kind of significations obtained reverence among the ancients, while we have rather trial of the realities, than enigmatical figures: for the habit of that earlier priesthood was adorned for the service of our mind, and the glory of the high priesthood is commended



to us, not by honourable garments, but by the splendour of souls; for the things which then pleased the carnal vision, required rather that which was to be understood by them. Therefore, upon this servant N. whom Thou hast chosen to the ministry of the high priesthood, we beseech Thee, O Lord, largely bestow this grace, that whatsoever those garments signified by the brightness of gold, and splendour of jewels, and variety of all sorts of work, the same may shine in his conversation and actions. Complete in Thy priest, the chief of Thy ministry, and sanctify him with the [dew] of heavenly ointment, when furnished with the ornaments of entire glorification. Let this, O Lord, abundantly flow upon his head. Let it run down to the lower parts of the body [in oris subjecta], let it descend to the extremities of the whole body, that the power of Thy Holy Spirit may fill him inwardly, and cover him outwardly. Let constant faith, pure affection, sincere peace abound in him; let his feet be beautiful to publish the word of good tidings, not in persuasive words of man's wisdom, but in manifestation of the Spirit and of power. Give unto him, O Lord, we beseech Thee, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that whatsoever he shall bind on earth may be bound in heaven; and whatsoever he shall loose on earth, may be loosed in heaven; and whosoever sins he shall retain, may they be retained: whosoever he shall remit, do Thou, O Lord, deign to remit. Give unto him true humility, perfect patience, that he may not call evil good, nor good evil; nor put darkness for light, nor light for darkness. Give unto him the episcopal chair, to govern Thy Church and universal people [*Ecclesiam Tuam et plebem universam*]. Be Thou his authority, his power, his strength; multiply upon him Thy blessing and Thy grace, that by Thy gift he may be apt at all times to implore Thy mercy, and may obtain grace to be devout: Through, &c."

As objections were taken to the consecration of our bishops at the reformation, because the forms of the Roman pontifical were not observed, it is important to

know, that it was not according to those forms that the first archbishop of Canterbury was consecrated. And this Romish argument, if, in any respect, of avail, would go to vitiate the succession before, as well as since the reformation, in the church of England, which is proving too much.

On the return of Augustine he again took up his abode at Canterbury, which has continued ever since the metropolitan see. Kenulphus, king of Mercia, in writing to pope Leo III assigns the reason why the church of England decided upon this : "Because Augustine, of blessed memory, who in the time of pope Gregory, preached the Word of God to the English nation, and presided over the Saxon churches, died in the same city, and his body was buried in the church which his successor Laurentius dedicated to St Peter, the prince of the Apostles, it seemed good to all the wise men of our nation, that the metropolitanical dignity should be fixed in that city where resteth the body of him that planted the truth of the Christian faith in these parts."

Augustine, having now settled his church, sent a report of his proceedings to the bishop of Rome, just as our missionary bishops in the colonies to the archbishop of Canterbury report their proceedings at the present time. The joy of the excellent Gregory was great, at the unexpected and marvellous success of the mission. Laurence and Peter, who had thus been despatched to Rome, returned to England in 601, bringing with them twelve additional missionaries. Among these were Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus, the first of whom became afterwards bishop of London, the second of Rochester, and the third archbishop of York.

Augustine, who appears not to have been neither a learned nor a judicious man, had requested his friend and fellow-bishop, Gregory, to send him advice on certain points on which he found it difficult to decide. The questions and their answers are to be found in Bede. Gregory advised the unmarried clergy, bishops, priests,

and deacons, to live together, to eat their meals at the same table, and to throw their property into a common stock; those of the clergy who were married were to receive their stipend at their own houses. Augustine, when in France, had become acquainted with the fact that the Gallican liturgy differed from the Roman in several respects, and as he had been consecrated according to the Gallican, and not according to the Roman forms, he enquired why, since the faith of the whole Church was one, national churches should thus differ in their customs. This probably was a delicate hint that he was in doubt whether to adopt for the church of England the Gallican or the Roman ceremonies. Gregory seems thus to have understood him, for he gives him the following wise advice, very different from that which a modern Romanist would offer: "Your brotherhood," he says, "is familiar with the practice of the Roman Church, in which, as you well know, you were brought up. But if you have found what may be more acceptable to Almighty God, whether in the Roman, French, or any other church, I would advise you carefully to select and introduce, as by special appointment, into the English church (which is as yet but young in the faith) what you have thus been able to cull from many churches. Things are not to be loved for the places where they are found, but rather places for the good things which they possess. Choose, therefore, from each church whatever is devout, religious, and right; form them into a single collection, and lodge them in the minds of the English, for the use of the church."

With respect to the degrees of relationship in marriage, in what degree of affinity marriages may be contracted between relatives, Gregory states that the Roman law permitted the marriage of first cousins, but he strongly advised Augustine to discourage this, for various reasons; but, as Collier observes, "he bars this relation no farther than cousin germans; so that one remove from this nearness of blood leaves the parties at liberty to marry; which is more than the present church of Rome allows of."



There is another opinion of Gregory which is worthy of consideration, as he would hardly have expressed himself so decidedly, unless he felt sure of the general principle of the Church ; it relates to a question asked by Augustine, whether, in the event of his not being able to convene a synod of bishops, it would be expedient to consecrate one without the presence of others. Gregory replied : “ In the English church, in which you are as yet the only bishop, you cannot ordain a bishop otherwise than without the presence of others ; for when do bishops come from France to be present at the consecration of one of their order ? But we advise you to provide that the bishops whom you ordain are placed at the shortest possible distance from one another, that so there may be no hindrance to the meeting, at an episcopal consecration, of other pastors whose presence is so important. When, therefore, by the Divine help, you have thus ordained bishops in places near to each other, consecrations should by no means be allowed at which three or four other bishops are not present. For we may take example even from carnal matters, to direct us in a wise and careful disposition of spiritual things. Thus it is, that in the world, married persons are summoned to marriages, in order that those who have gone before in the path of wedlock may be united in the joy of the actual union. Why, then, in this spiritual ordination, also, in which, by the sacred ministry, man is allied with God, should not those meet together who have been before ordained bishops, and are thus able to take part in the joy, or pour forth united prayers to Almighty God for their brother’s safety ? ”

The fact is, that the presence of three bishops is not necessary to the validity of an episcopal consecration ; but three being the smallest number which can constitute a synod, that number at least is required to be present by the canons and practice of the Church, that the consecration may be duly sanctioned and attested. A person consecrated by one bishop would not, under ordinary circumstances, be received as a bishop, on the ground that

there is not sufficient evidence of his consecration ; but if the consecration took place under extraordinary circumstances, then, upon sufficient proof being adduced, a synod of bishops may pronounce the act of consecration to have been valid. The Church requires for security that consecration should be a synodical act, as the ordination of priests by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery is a diocesan act.

Gregory at the same time sent Augustine the pall or pallium, cautioning him (his fellow bishop, as he styles him) against pride and worldliness. He always treated Augustine as if, while convinced of his zeal, he was not equally convinced of the soundness of his judgment. The pall was at this time a magnificent robe, and was originally granted by the emperors to those metropolitans upon whom they thought fit to confer the favour, in order to distinguish them in their ministrations from the suffragans : it was indeed part of the imperial robes, to wear any portion of which, without the emperor's consent, was high treason. By degrees, the bishops of Rome and Constantinople obtained permission to confer the pall : though even down to the time of Gregory the Great, the permission of the emperor was required. At this time, however, it was not considered necessary for an archbishop to have the pall. In the British church the archbishops of London and York, who had no intercourse with Rome, never wore the pall, neither did any of the archbishops of France, save the archbishop of Arles ; or rather, they received a pall from their own kings. In 745, at a synod called by Boniface, "the apostle of Germany," it was determined to regard the church of Rome as the centre of communion, and that the metropolitans should receive their pall, not from their kings, but from the pope. The archbishops of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens, in France, refused to acquiesce in a canon which, binding only on the Germans, was attempted to be forced upon them ; they maintained the liberties of the Gallican church. It

was only when it was explained to them that the pall was intended merely as a badge of distinction between archbishops and their suffragans, as a means of reminding them of their obligation to lead a more exemplary life, and to defend their metropolitical privileges, that they consented to accept the favour. This point gained, the popes soon advanced another step: when it was admitted that all archbishops must receive the pall from them, they refused to grant it, unless the archbishops seeking the pall made a vow of canonical obedience to the see of Rome. Thus, by degrees, did the popes usurp authority over distant and independent churches. And then, since the conferring a splendid vestment on every new archbishop in the western church, would have involved the popes in great expense, the pall was changed into a strip of woollen cloth, worn across the shoulders, to which are appended two other strips of the same material, one of them falling over the neck, and the other hanging down the back, each marked with a red cross, and the part across the shoulders with several smaller crosses, the whole being tacked to the rest of the dress by three golden pins.

Such is the history of the pall: but in Augustine's time it did *not* imply subjection to the church of Rome, and no oath of canonical obedience to that see was exacted; the pall was merely a splendid robe granted by the bishop of Rome to those archbishops whom he favoured.

To return to Augustine: hitherto his course had been meritorious and successful. He seems afterwards to have been injured by his success, and to have permitted feelings of ambition and pride to enter into his heart. His conduct to the British church was unjustifiable. As a missionary to the Anglo-Saxons he was exemplary; but towards the native Christians, who possessed another portion of our island, he acted very much in the spirit of some of those haughty protestant missionaries sent out by various societies from this country, who refuse to hold communion with the ancient churches in India, because



they agree not with them in certain points of form and doctrine : proud missionaries, calling themselves members of the church of England, have been known to insult the native churches in India, because not in all things conformable to the doctrines and formularies of the English church. Augustine, as an Italian, was anxious to bring the British Christians to conformity with the Italian church. And on occasion of a journey into the interior of England, he had two conferences with them.

The British church differed from Augustine's church in several particulars of minor importance. They did not keep Easter on the same day. The British church kept their Easter day on a Sunday, from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the paschal moon inclusive ; whereas Augustine and the Saxon missionaries kept it on the Sunday which fell between the fifteenth and the twenty-first. The British church having accepted the decrees of the council of Nice, were not, in acting thus, following the Asiatic custom as it existed before the convocation of that council ; but in observing the rule of Nice they had fallen into a mistake, and had begun one day too soon.

With respect also to the administration of the sacrament of Baptism ; it was the practice of many primitive Christians to dip the person to be baptized three times in the water, in memory of the three Persons in the Holy Trinity. This custom it seems the British church did not observe : that church was at liberty to make what regulations it thought fit on a point thus indifferent, as Gregory the Great, Augustine's patron, admitted, when writing to Leander, bishop of Seville, in Spain, he said, " It is true we use three immersions at Rome ; but in such a matter as this, while the faith of the Church is one, there is no harm in a little difference of custom."

To settle these differences which, by Christian courtesy on the part of Augustine, might have been easily done, a conference was held at Augustine's oak on the frontiers of the West Saxons, and probably in Worcestershire. This first conference does not appear to have been numerously

attended ; there were only one or two representatives of the British hierarchy, with certain of the clergy and a crowd of people. The assumption of superiority on the part of Augustine was evidently offensive. He offered terms to the British church as if he were its superior, as if they were to sacrifice every thing for communion with him, and he nothing to secure their co-operation and support : “ You have,” he said, “ many practices which are against the custom of the whole Church, not only that of the church of Rome. But yet if you will keep Easter at the proper time ; if you will celebrate Baptism as the holy apostolic church of Rome does ; and if you will join with us in preaching the word of God to the Anglo-Saxons, we will bear with all other things.” The British Christians did not want Augustine to bear with them or to tolerate them ; they, as members of an independent church, more ancient than his, which he had only just established, desired on terms of equality to confer ; and they were indignant doubtless at the course pursued by Augustine. When he found that he could not prevail, we are told by Bede that he worked a miracle to convince them. There are many grounds for believing that Bede was misinformed on this point : Augustine was so clearly in the wrong, that we find it impossible to believe that a miracle was on this occasion wrought by him ; Bede could receive his information only from the tradition of prejudiced Anglo-Saxons ; there were but few influential persons present at the council to decide on the fact, and at a fuller conference no miracle was attempted ; if a miracle had been wrought, it would have had such effect upon the Britons, that they would have come to the second conference with feelings very different from those by which they were at that time animated ; when miracles were wrought, great effects were always produced, whereas this assumed miracle of Augustine had no influence on the British church, which continued for many years distinct from the Anglo-Saxon. We can believe that miracles may have been wrought, if the evidence be sufficient, when the

result was the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, and the object the establishment of the blessed church of England ; and the power to work miracles would be independent of any personal excellence on the part of Augustine, whose general excellence we do not question, though we censure his present conduct : but it would require very strong evidence indeed to induce us to believe that at the conference with the Britons, when Augustine was assuming authority which did not belong to him, any miracle was performed by him. Certainly the British were not persuaded by it. A second conference was proposed, at which the attendance was more numerous than at the former, seven British bishops attending at it, with a great many learned monks from the monastery of Bangor, or Bancor, in Flintshire, (not Bangor in Caernarvonshire) who were under the direction of their abbot Dinoh. These Britons, before they began their journey, applied to a certain hermit of eminent virtue and good sense, to know whether or not they should give up the usages and traditions of their church, and acknowledge the pretensions of Augustine. He told them, that if Augustine should prove to be a man of God, they ought to be governed by him. They asked him how they should know this. The hermit replied, " Our Saviour says, ' Take my yoke upon you, for I am meek and lowly in heart.' If Augustine be affable and humble, he has probably taken Christ's yoke upon him, and offers you the same privilege ; but if he be haughty and insolent, it is plain he is not commissioned from heaven, nor are his words to be regarded." They farther asked by what marks they were to discover his temper. The hermit desired them to manage it so, that Augustine and his company should be first at the place, and if he rose to salute them at their coming in, they might conclude he was sent from God ; but if he neglected this civility they might return his contempt, and have nothing to do with him. When the Britons came into the synod, Augustine received them sitting ; and, according to the principle laid down, they refused to accede to



his terms. They said, "if he treats us thus now, what may we expect if we submit to put ourselves under him as our primate."

The advice given by the hermit was sound in itself, and shews the general feeling among the British Christians: they were willing to act in concert with Augustine, but they were not willing to admit his superiority. The hermit said, "Watch him, see if he treats your bishops as an equal, if he does not, he is not acting on catholic principles, according to which all bishops are on an equality, whether rich or poor." Gladly no doubt would the British church have co-operated with Augustine in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, but they would not pledge themselves to this, or to any thing else, to obtain his patronage, since his patronage was not what they desired. They were willing to act *with* him, not under him. And when he spoke to them of the bishop of Rome, as if communion with him was a necessary thing, the learned Dinoth, who acted as the spokesman of the Britons replied "that the British churches owe the deference of brotherly kindness and charity to the Church of God and the pope of Rome, and all other Christians. But other obedience than this they do not know to be due to him whom they, (Augustine and his party) call pope; and for their parts, they were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who, under God, was their spiritual overseer and director."

Augustine, disappointed and enraged, exclaimed; "I foresee that if you will not have peace with brethren, you will have war with foes; and if you will not preach the way of life to the English, you will suffer deadly vengeance at their hands." And thus the conference ended.

That Augustine was sincere in his desire of union there can be no doubt; that knowing the deadly hatred of the Saxons to the Britons, he foresaw the consequences of the rejection, on the part of the latter, of this overture of spiritual alliance is clear: but it was most unjust on his

part to cast all the blame of the failure of the conference on the Britons, or to insinuate that the failure was occasioned by their unwillingness to assist him in his missionary labours :—the failure was really occasioned by his own haughtiness, and his assumption of powers which did not belong to him. But at the same time it would be unjust, on our part, to accuse Augustine of having excited the Anglo-Saxons against the British Christians, and of having caused their destruction. It is undoubtedly true that some years after, when Ethelfrid, a warlike Saxon king, made war upon the Welch, twelve hundred priests and monks of the monastery of Bangor, were cruelly slaughtered: but Augustine was dead long before; nor indeed was he likely, if living, to have communication with Ethelfrid, who lived too far north to be under any control from the authority of Ethelbert.

After this conference we have no authentic record of the proceedings of Augustine. He retired to Canterbury, and there died in the year 604, or, as some say, 607. His tomb, in the days of Bede, bore the following inscription:

“Here resteth the lord Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury, who was sent hither formerly by the blessed Gregory, bishop of Rome, and being helped by God to work miracles, drew over king Ethelbert and his race from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ. Having ended in peace the days of his ministry, he departed this life seven days before the kalends of June, in the reign of the same king.”

Augustine had not been able fully to accomplish the noble designs of Gregory the Great. That great benefactor of our Church intended to establish two archbishoprics besides that of Canterbury; one at London, and one at York. He intended to have twelve bishops for south Britain, and twelve for the north. But Augustine effected much in a short time. He erected a cathedral church at Canterbury on the site of an old Roman church, given to him by king Ethelbert, which he consecrated by the name of Christ church. He built a residence for the bishop near it, and

founded a monastery for his unmarried clergy a little out of the city, to which was attached the church of St Peter and St Paul; the monastery was completed by his successor, and the church was afterwards called St Augustine's. He established the bishopric of Rochester, and the bishopric of London. In Rochester, by the bounty of Ethelbert, he built the cathedral church of St Andrew's; in London, that of St Paul's.

At the same time, we are to remember, that Augustine was not the only missionary among the Anglo-Saxons, or the sole founder, under God, of the present church of England. The kingdom of Mercia, containing the counties of Chester, Nottingham, Derby, Salop, Northampton, Leicester, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Rutland, Warwick, Worcester, Oxford, Gloucester, Buckingham, Hereford, and part of Hertford, was converted to Christianity by Finan, Diuna, Ceollack, and Trumhere, according to Bede, lib. iii. c. 21. According to the same authority, the kingdom of Northumberland, which contained York, Lancaster, and the northern parts of England, and extended a considerable way into Scotland, was converted by Aidan, a Scotch bishop. Paulinus had been sent on this mission by Justus of Canterbury, successor of Augustine, but was soon obliged to retire, until Aidan arrived, under happier auspices, and converted the nation. Essex, Middlesex, and Hertford were converted by Cedd, another Irish bishop, after they had relapsed into paganism. The Picts and Scots of Scotland were converted by Columba, an Irishman, first abbot of Iona, in the sixth century.—*Bede. Gregorii Epistolæ. Collier. Rapin. Soames. Churton. Poole. Perceval on Apostolical Succession.*

AURELIUS. There were two bishops of this name in the council of Carthage, A. D. 256, summoned by St Cyprian, to determine the question of the validity of heretical baptisms.

The suffrage of AURELIUS of Utica was as follows:

“The apostle has warned us not to be partakers of



other men's sins. But what does he but partake of other men's sins, who communicates with heretics, without insisting on their being baptized with the baptism of the Church? Wherefore my sentence is, that heretics be baptized, in order to the forgiveness of their sins, that so they be admitted to communion."

AURELIUS of Chullbia said :

"The apostle St John has given us the following rule : ' If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed : for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.' (2 John 10, 11.) How then can those be admitted into the house of God, without great rashness and presumption, who are forbidden admittance into our private houses? Or how can we communicate with those, without baptizing them with this Baptism of the Church, to whom we cannot say *God speed* without partaking of their evil deeds?"—*St Cyprian*.

AUNGERVYLE. Bishop Aungervyle, or as he was commonly called, from the place of his birth, Richard de Bury, was born at Bury St Edmunds, in 1281. He was tutor to the prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III. In 1333 he received the most important of his many dignities, and was made bishop of Durham, while at the same time he sustained the offices of chancellor and treasurer of England. He was a great patron of learning, and his charities were unbounded. Every week he distributed eight quarters of wheat, made into bread, to the poor; and on his journeys from Durham to Newcastle, he distributed £8 in alms : between Durham and Houghton £5; between Durham and Auckland five marks; between Durham and Middleham £8. He founded a public library at Oxford, for the students, which he attached to Durham college, and supplied five librarians with yearly salaries. This library fell, with other public and eleemosynary property, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. into the hands of sacrilegious purchasers. The bishop

died at Auckland, April 24, 1845, and was buried in the south transept of Durham cathedral, to which he had been a benefactor.

AVRILLON, JOHN BAPTIST ELIAS, a monk of the order of St Francis de Paula, was born at Paris, on the 1st Jan. 1652. He passed his noviciate in the convent of the Minims, of Mignon, near Paris, and took the vows in the year 1671. In 1676 he became celebrated as a preacher, which vocation he exercised for fifty-three years, during which period he was superior in different houses of his order.

The unction which he displayed in his sermons, and the light of truth which shone in all his compositions, caused many persons to seek him as their spiritual guide; to the same zeal, we owe the numerous devotional books, which we have from his pen, and which have always been eagerly sought after. Father Avrillon died at Paris, in 1729. His principal works are—1. “Reflections, Theological, Moral, and Affective, upon the Attributes of God; in the form of meditations for every day of the month.” 2. “The Year of Affections, or Sentiments on the love of God, taken from the Song of Songs, for every day of the year.” 3. “Affective Commentary upon the great precept of Love to God.” 4. “Ten Days’ Retreat, for persons consecrated to God, and for those engaged in the world; with a discourse upon Retirement.” 5. “Guide for passing the Season of Advent holily.” 6. “Guide for passing Lent holily.” 7. “Meditations and Sentiments on the Holy Communion.” 8. “Meditations of a Recluse, in retirement, during the octave of the Holy Sacrament.” 9. “Reflections, Sentiments, and Exercises upon the Holy Childhood of Jesus Christ, taken from Scripture and the Fathers.” 10. “Guide for keeping holily the feasts and octaves of the Pentecost, the Holy Sacrament, and the assumption of the Blessed Virgin.” 11. “Commentary on the Psalm Miserere, as a preparation for death.” The author composed this as a preparation for his own

death. 12. "Sentiments upon the Worth of the Soul, the necessity of Worship, the Advantages of Afflictions, and on being forsaken by God.." 13. "Sentiments upon the Love of God, or the Thirty Sacred Affections for every day of the month." 14. "Treatises on the Love of God to Man, and on the Love of our Neighbour." 15. "Thoughts on several subjects of Mortality." This last work is part of a dictionary of ethics, on which he had worked much, but which he did not finish.—*Moreri*.

AYLMER, JOHN. In the personal history of this great reformer there is not much of interest, and as in public affairs his was, generally speaking, a secondary part, the narration of them does not belong to this article. He was born in 1521, being one of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Norfolk. He studied for some time at Cambridge, but at what college is uncertain: he was supported by an exhibition granted him by the marquis of Dorset, who was afterwards duke of Suffolk. On leaving the university, he was appointed chaplain to the duke, and tutor to his celebrated daughter, the lady Jane Grey. That lady, whose proficiency in Greek and Latin literature is so well known, frequently expressed her obligations to Aylmer, and attributed to his gentleness, as compared with the extreme severity of her parents, the ready attention which she gave to her studies.

At this time there was a large and increasing party in our Church determined to carry out the reformation of our venerable establishment. In the reign of Edward the Sixth they had indeed become radical reformers, if we may use the term, and even some of those in power were prepared not merely to reform, but entirely to overthrow the Church. To this extreme party Aylmer was, in his younger days, inclined. In 1553 he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Stow:—and here the writer of this article must be pardoned, if in mentioning the archdeaconry of Stow, he permits his mind to digress into a passing thought on the late



occupant of that dignity, Henry Vincent Bayley; a name which will always be revered by all who knew the amiable and learned man who bore it. The world admired him for the depth of his learning, and the innocent playfulness of his wit: his friends loved him for the tenderness of his heart: theologians resorted to him for assistance in their learned labours; while his parishioners wept at his death from the knowledge that they had lost a kind, a charitable, a sympathising pastor and friend. Years of ill health, under which the vigour of his mind alone prevented him from sinking, incapacitated him for continuous literary labour; but not a few among our living divines, and some of them distinguished ornaments of the episcopal bench, can look back to the time when they most needed an adviser and friend, and found him in the late archdeacon of Stow.

But to return to Aylmer, the year of his appointment to the archdeaconry of Stow, was the year of queen Mary's accession to the throne. It is well known that with her accession there was a general change in the government, especially in its policy towards the Church. During the reign of king Edward, the friends of church-reform were in power. The extreme to which they had been hurrying must have alarmed all who had any conservative feeling; and not a little disgust must have been felt by the majority of the people, at perceiving that the leading lay reformers, while eagerly confiscating the property of the Church, were employing the confiscated property, during the minority of the king, in enriching their own families. Added to this, the leaders of the reforming party, including the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Cranmer, and the bishop of London, Dr Ridley, and many others, had taken the false step, in despair for their party, of endeavouring to change the succession: they were in fact guilty of high treason in attempting to set aside Mary, their rightful sovereign, and to make the lady Jane Grey their queen. It was an

unfortunate movement which met its deserts, as is generally the case when expediency is preferred to principle. The circumstances are alluded to, to account for the fact, that both parliament and convocation at the commencement of this reign were so decidedly conservative, and opposed to the alterations made in our establishment during the preceding reign. That the government, like every other government, used all its influence to have members both of parliament and convocation returned who would be favourable to their views, we should naturally expect; but they would not have succeeded unless there had been a large conservative party, which had been increased by the extremes to which the late reform government were hurrying, and of which they had given a notable proof in their attempt to set aside the succession. The Romish party had now the ascendancy in our beloved church, and supplied the government with ministers. The cruelty which the Romish party, under Gardiner and the atrocious Bonner, evinced towards their opponents, prepared the way for the reformers to come into power when Mary died; and that cruelty rendered the party so odious in the eyes of the nation, that the Romish party has never since obtained influence in our establishment. In the 13th year of queen Elizabeth's reign they even seceded from the Church, and, with few exceptions, have ever since formed themselves into a separate sect.

Aylmer, in the convocation of 1553, in which he had a seat by right of his archdeaconry, found himself in a very small minority. The majority of the representatives of our much loved church, seem to have been so alarmed at the course pursued in the late reign, that they were anxious to go backwards, and undo what had been already done. They were prepared to re-establish even the errors from which our church had been extricated. Aylmer was a fearless man, and boldly and honourably maintained the cause of the reformation. He argued with Moreman against the doctrine of transubstantiation, especially out of Theodoret. The discussion is to be found in Fox.

Being deprived soon after of his archdeaconry, he thought it prudent to leave the country, and for a time resided in Strasburg; he afterwards went to Zurich; where he passed his time in pursuing his studies, in instructing youth, and in corresponding with many eminent countrymen, who, like himself, being of the reforming party, were in exile. He was inclined during his exile, to extreme measures, as may be gathered from the fact of his being the friend of Fox, the martyrologist, and from a passage which occurs in his answer to Knox: In 1556, John Knox printed at Geneva a treatise under this title, "The first blast against the monstrous regiment and empire of women." His design was to shew, that by the laws of God, women could not exercise sovereign authority. The reason of his writing it, was his fiery indignation against two queens, Mary of Lorraine then queen regent of Scotland, and Mary, queen of England. This piece prejudiced the cause of the reformation exceedingly in the minds of princes, and those in authority under them, on perceiving which, Aylmer wrote an answer to it, under the title of "An harbour for faithful and true subjects against the late blown blast, concerning the government of women: wherein be confuted all such reasons as a stranger of late made in that behalf: with a brief exhortation to obedience. Strasburg, 1559." In this work the following passage, just referred to, is found: it alludes to the bishops of the church of England: "Come off, ye bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with hundreds; as they be in other reformed churches, where be so great learned men as you are: let your portion be priest-like, not prince-like: let the queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands, to maintain these wars, which you procured, and your mistress left her embroiled in; and with the rest to build and found schools throughout the realm: that every parish church may have its preacher, every city its superintendant, to live honestly, and not pompously: which will never be, unless your lands be dis-



persed, and bestowed upon many, which now feed and fat but one."

But whatever may have been the opinions of our reformer when in exile, he discovered no inclination to the extreme party upon his return to England on the accession of queen Elizabeth, but acted with archbishop Parker and other more moderate men, in resisting puritanism on the one hand, and popery on the other. He was appointed one of the eight advocates of the reformation, who were commissioned to hold a disputation in Westminster against a like number of Romish divines; and in 1562, he became archdeacon of Lincoln. As archdeacon he attended the convocation held in this year, the fourth of queen Elizabeth's reign, when the reformation of our church was for a time settled, and the thirty-nine articles adopted as one of our formularies. There were violent disputes in this convocation with reference to the abolition or retention of many of the ancient ceremonies of our venerable establishment, such as the use of the cross, the kneeling at the eucharist, the abolition of holy days, the use of the surplice, the retention of organs, &c. But from these discussions Aylmer absented himself. Perhaps he would have found it difficult to reconcile some of his more violent speeches in former times, with his adhesion to the moderate or strictly Anglican party in our church, which now began to take its rise.

Our worthy reformer was a man of violent and irritable temper, which seems to have been less under the control of religion than we should have expected, and this probably prevented his being advanced till late in life to a higher station in the church. At a time when few persons, adhering to the reformation, were qualified for high posts, and when among the bishops were found many of extreme views, Aylmer would doubtless have been nominated sooner to a bishopric, except for this defect. He continued actively engaged in his archdeaconry till the year 1576, when he became bishop of London.

By this time all his prejudices against the pomp and

riches of the bishops had vanished. He brought disgrace upon himself and the Church by long litigation with Sandys archbishop of York, who had been translated from London, on the subject of dilapidations. After the late spoliation of the church it was not seemly for two reforming bishops to appear before the public in this character. Aylmer was evidently fond of money, and was accused of having improperly enriched himself by felling the timber on his estates. Although he was not guilty of doing this to the extent it was stated, we can hardly say that the charge was without foundation.

As bishop of London our reformer is entitled to praise for his impartiality. Some of his successors have certainly laid themselves open to the charge of injustice, by the rigor they exercise towards all who are inclined to romanize, while their laxity is extreme towards others who, by ultra-protestantism, violate the laws of the Church. Expediency, not justice, has been too often their principle of action. But bishop Aylmer dealt even handed justice to all. Neither papist nor puritan was tolerated unless he strictly conformed. On both parties he kept a vigilant eye. The "papistical sort," who had hitherto conformed, were now withdrawing from our church, and were persuading others to do the same. And the puritans were attempting to obtain power, that they might annihilate from the establishment every vestige of a Church.

His unpopularity was accordingly great and increasing, the two strong parties in the kingdom being against him : the very strong romanizing party in the upper and middle classes, and the equally strong puritan party among the lower orders : the party in power, holding Anglican views, being chiefly supported by the determination of the queen.

In 1577 he held his primary visitation, when subscription to the thirty-nine articles was urged. To this the puritan party very strongly objected : they urged that no one holding protestant opinions could sign the articles, except in a "non-natural" sense ; they called those of their party who

subscribed dissemblers, "nay," says Strype, "they very uncharitably compared them to Arians, Priscillians, Anabaptists, and such like. And not only so, but they flouted and mocked them; as Earl, one of these subscribing ministers, in a journal of his yet extant, records it: 'Whereas,' writes he, 'all that we say to them is, we are sorry for them, but cannot help them.'"

In 1579 we find that things had come to such a pass, that "the Common Prayer was by some in part, and by others wholly, laid aside, and the sacraments of the church disused or shifted off, to be performed by others that were hired or procured."

In the year 1580 occurred an earthquake in London and the parts adjacent. The bishop of London immediately framed prayers to be used throughout his diocese on the occasion, while the people were affected with fear and horror. He acted more promptly, and resisted a suggestion of delay, because of "the state of the time, together with the malice of the enemies," who upbraided the members of the English church, "that they never fasted, and seldom prayed."

So unpleasant was Aylmer's position, that he endeavoured, but in vain, to effect a translation to the see of Ely, which became vacant in 1581. Queen Elizabeth, following the example of many of her predecessors before the reformation, and not willing to reform in this particular, kept the see vacant for a long time, that she might appropriate the income: and after long expectation, Aylmer was disappointed in his suit.

In 1583 he again visited his diocese, when the clergy were once more called upon to subscribe. The bishop of London was willing to carry out the principles of a reformation, however opposed he might be to the excesses of the puritans. With reference to this visitation, Strype observes: "That which he discovered this visitation, among other things that were faulty, and required correction, was the practice of the commutation of penance;



much practised in his diocese by chancellors, commissaries, officials, registers, even to the very apparitor. And these commutations were so many, and some times so strange, that he feared it would be a means to let in all manner of vice; which like a flood, (unless prevented) was in danger to overspread the whole realm; especially the wealthier sort, who might be as bad as they pleased, when they should think they might be saved from punishment by their mammon. And this was done notwithstanding a late convocation had expressly ordered, that there should be no commutation of penance without the bishop of the diocese's privity. And in this abuse even the highest courts ecclesiastical were not clear.

“Of all this the bishop, being now at Hadham in Hertfordshire, (as it seems by his visitation,) informed the lord treasurer; and, for the redressing of this evil, desired the said lord, together with the council, to direct their letters to the high commissioners ecclesiastical: that whereas in the last convocation at the last parliament order had been taken by the bishops of the realm then and there assembled, that no commutation of penance should be made without the bishop should be made acquainted; (which thing was not at all observed,) therefore their lordships' pleasure was, that the said commissioners should examine all manner of ecclesiastical officers, what and how many penances they had commuted and changed within six or seven years past. The benefit whereof, according as the bishop propounded it, might be, that these commutations being refunded, (which he concluded to be very considerable,) should go towards the reparation of the ruinous church of St Paul's; 'which would well help to make good a good piece of it. And besides, by this means all ecclesiastical officers would,' as he said, 'be more precise in bargaining for sin, and all sinners would be more afraid of punishment: God's name would be less dishonoured, and the chief of the clergy, which were therein most blamed, should, he hoped, shew themselves of all

others, to have least gain : or else let them bear,' said he, 'the burden of their deserts.' This letter was writ in July. Thus honestly and discreetly did our bishop advise for the cure of this corruption of discipline : but what effect it had I cannot say."

In the summer of 1586, the bishop of London held another visitation. By this time the puritan feeling had been advancing; the following account of the visitation, from Strype, is interesting, as throwing light upon the circumstances of the times.

"He held his visitation in London, May the 22nd. Then the ministers there were enjoined the observation of these articles. 1. To use prayers Wednesdays and Fridays. 2. To read and preach such sermons and homilies as were proper to move compassion to the poor. 3. To make contributions among themselves at free choice according to their abilities, without laying any taxation upon them. This I suppose was a season of sickness or dearth. 4. Presentment to be made of negligent recusants.

"From thence he repaired into Essex ; but he found as he went along the disorders were not so great as was feared, though more (as he confessed in a letter to a great friend at court) than were to be wished, until he came to Malden, where, as he expressed in the same letter, he had like to have tasted of the sour fruits of the new reformers, and especially of such as were mercenary ; that is, such as were retained to preach in divers places, besides the ordinary ministers. A certain fellow, to be hired by some young heads in the town, tradesmen there, was to have come into the church besmeared like a fool, and to have taken the bishop's cap off from his head, and having twirled it about his finger, to have cast and tossed it to and fro among them in the midst of the people. But by some means this came to knowledge, and was seasonably prevented : which if it had not, there was no doubt but a dangerous tumult would have risen, and, as the bishop feared, not without blood. The bishop examined the

matter, and having found out the chief devisers of it, committed them. The bailiffs and the rest were much dismayed at it. The bishop did advise hereupon, that her majesty, or some of the lords of the council, would shew some countenance of misliking of so dangerous a device as the fruits of those men's preachings, who disobeyed the book and other orders; whereby, as by the bishop's present proceedings they were daunted, and began to yield, so the bishop doubted not then to find all others in that corner very tractable. This happened in July."

Towards the close of his life, Aylmer again solicited permission either to exchange or to resign his bishopric, but without success. He therefore continued to the last in the active discharge of his duties, for in 1593, he held another visitation of his diocese, and died at Fulham, on the 3rd of June, 1594.

Although an irritable, he was a good humoured and facetious man; and kept a regular and well ordered family. "He and his whole family, every day in the week, were twice present at and joined with *the whole divine service*." The puritans, according to the custom of ultra-protestants, accused him of many things, some of them pure inventions, shewing that they had forgotten who is called "the father of lies." The defence of the bishop may be found in Strype. We insert here our reformer's own vindication of himself on one occasion. He was charged with being a defender of Sabbath breaking, being accustomed, like many other bishops, to play bowls on a Sunday, and with being a swearer, beause he would sometimes say, By my faith.

"As to these two last imputations, the bishop thus either justified or excused himself; That he never withdrew himself from service or sermon on the Lord's days. That Christ, the best expositor of the Sabbath, said that *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath*. That man might have his meat dressed for his health upon the Sabbath; and why might he not have some convenient



exercise of his body for the health thereof on that day? Indeed it was the general custom in those days, both at Geneva, and in all other places where Protestants inhabited, after the service of the Lord's day was over, to refresh themselves with bowling, walking abroad, or other innocent recreations. And the bishop followed that which in his travels abroad he had seen ordinarily practised among them. As for his using the word, *By his faith*, sometimes in his asseverations, the bishop pleaded, that if it were an oath, he would amend it; but he was apprehensive of no more in that phrase of speech, *By my faith*, than *In very truth*, *Bona fide*, *Assuredly*, or as *Amen* importeth."

The truth is, that Sunday was turned into a fast, in all things except abstaining from meat, not by the reformers, but by the puritans. The old catholic custom of making it a happy holiday, by attending divine service, and by abstaining from business, and by partaking of innocent recreation, when the duties of the day had been performed, continued in England till the triumph of puritanism. An act was passed, compelling the observance of Sunday, at the restoration. As things now stand, there is this anomaly: that right reverend prelates and noble lords drive to church, and partake of their usual recreations, while the act lies heavy upon the working classes, who are treated as irreligious, if, after a week of close confinement in their shops and mills, they seek for a little wholesome exercise in the open air, after the hours of divine service on the Lord's day. But whatever may be the feelings of people on this subject at the present time, the extract given above will demonstrate the practice and principle of our reformers.—*Strype's Life and Acts of Aylmer; and Annals. Fuller. Neal. Wood.*

AYMNIUS, or AHYMNUS, of Ausuaga, one of the bishops in the council of Carthage, in 256. His suffrage is as follows:

"As we have received but one baptism, we abide by

that one, and use and allow no other ; but he who says that heretics may baptize, makes two baptisms."

BABINGTON, GERVASE, was born probably in Nottinghamshire, although some say in Devonshire. He was educated at Cambridge, and became a fellow of Trinity college in that university. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his matriculation is given, but in 1578 he was admitted ad eundem, as a master of arts, at Oxford. He became a popular preacher at Cambridge, and in taking his doctor's degree, was appointed chaplain to Henry earl of Pembroke, who married "Sidney's sister." In 1591 he was made bishop of Landaff; in 1594 he was translated to Exeter, and in 1597 to Worcester. He died in 1610. His translation from Exeter causes serious doubts to arise as to his integrity. While bishop of Exeter, he so far forgot his duty as a trustee of the Church, as to alienate from the Church the rich manor of Crediton, belonging to that see: and his almost immediate removal to Worcester casts much suspicion on his character. He accepted it, it would seem, on the condition of alienating property which belonged not to him but to the Church, and as the reward of his robbery and wrong, was translated to Worcester. The lay reformers, and the bishops of the reformation did serious injury to their cause by such conduct. Before the reformation, the Papists could not fail to remark, bishops were benefactors to the Church, at the reformation they were too often robbers of the Church. Babington had himself experienced the unpleasant results of conduct he thus imitated, for Hitchin, his predecessor in the see of Landaff, had alienated the land belonging to that see, and when Babington was appointed to it, being a facetious man, he remarked that he was bishop of Aff, the land being gone. It is justice to Babington to remark, that Fuller gives him a high character, and speaks of his being "not tainted with pride, idleness, or covetousness."—*Fuller. Strype's Whitgift.*

BABYLAS, SAINT, succeeded Zosinus in the see of Antioch, in the year 237, and is celebrated for having shut the church doors against an emperor, at the head of a victorious army, who was polluted by murder. But the statements of the historians do not agree as to the emperor who was thus treated, or as to the manner in which he bore his treatment. The fact seems to be that little general interest was attached to the circumstances of the life of St Babylas, until attention was called to him by certain circumstances which occurred after his death, which induced people to inquire more particularly into the events of his life.

He died in the persecution of Decius, in the year 250, but whether by actual martyrdom, or from the effects of a severe imprisonment, is another point on which authorities differ.

The circumstances before alluded to are these. His bones, after resting at Antioch for a hundred years, were removed, in the year 351, from Antioch, to a church prepared for their reception at Daphne, about four miles distant, by Cæsar Gallus: from this time, it is said, that the famous oracle of Daphne became dumb. In the year 362 Julian the apostate, desirous of restoring paganism, came to Antioch, to ascertain the cause of the idol's silence, and was told that the neighbourhood was full of dead bones, which must be removed ere the oracle could speak. The emperor commanded the body of Babylas to be removed, and the Christians obeyed. With great solemnity the bones of Babylas were brought back to Antioch, the Christians chanting those psalms which ridicule the vanity of idols, and singing a chorus, "May all who adore idols, and glory in false gods, blush with shame, and be covered with confusion." That very evening the splendid temple of Apollo, at Daphne, was destroyed by lightning. The fact is related by the historians Theodoret, Sozomen, Evagrius, Philostorgius; and by St Chrysostom, who alludes to the circumstances, as well known, in a discourse written within twenty years of its



occurrence; and within twenty-five years, in a homily preached on the spot. Julian does not deny the fact, but insinuates that the temple was set on fire by the Christians; an insinuation which Ammianus with candour rejects as a "trumpery rumour."—*Cave. Tillemont Fleury. Moreri.*

BACON, ROGER. The biography of this wonderful man belongs rather to the history of philosophers than of divines. He was born at Ilchester, in Somersetshire, in the year 1214. Commencing his studies at Oxford, he completed them at Paris. He devoted himself to scientific pursuits, and either at Paris, or immediately after his return to England in 1240, took the habit of the Franciscan order, having previously been made a D.D. On his return to Oxford, his genius and his learning attracted notice, and he received the most liberal patronage, so that in the course of twenty years he was enabled to lay out no less than two thousand pounds in the purchase of books and instruments, "an amazing sum," as Dr Hutton observes, in those days.

By the labours of Mr Maitland and others, our contemporaries have learned to treat with more respect, than our fathers did, those middle ages which it is the fashion to call dark. But we are not to be hurried into the opposite extreme. The fact is, that while persons who had the command of books as well as of leisure, in many points, far excelled those moderns who presume to despise them, general information was much less diffused, and therefore the class of the ignorant and superstitious was considerably larger than it is at present. Besides this, scientific pursuits, which occupied the mind of Bacon, were not in vogue. While Bacon received, therefore, a degree of patronage and support, such as few could expect in the present age, he had to encounter many difficulties resulting from the suspicion entertained by the ignorant, that he practised magic. It was probably on this account that he wrote a work expressly against that

art. But it was in vain,—all that class of minds which, in the present day, would consider it quite impossible for a divine to assert Catholic truth without being a papist, was enlisted against friar Bacon in the reign of Henry III. Their religious feelings were exasperated: they had as much horror of a dealer in magic, as our contemporaries have of a papist, and in vain did Roger Bacon declare that he was no magician; no one, as they thought, could look into the mysteries of nature without being either openly or secretly, an adept in the black art. The more ignorant and fanatical among the clergy were as vehement as the people, against him; but in the higher clergy, except where fanaticism existed, and in the well educated in all classes, he found supporters, although many may have, feared that in his speculations on some points he went rather too far. In Clement IV. the pope of Rome, he found an enlightened patron. It was at the request of this pope, who addressed a letter to Bacon, that he drew up that collection of his principal works which is known as the *Opus Majus*.

It would seem that Bacon, provoked by the intolerance of the more popular preachers of the age, attacked them in return, and thus exasperated their feelings still more against him. The heads of the university of Oxford, who were influenced by the popular cry, restrained him from reading lectures to the students. And on the death of Clement IV. he was subjected to many difficulties. At that period persecution was not conducted as now, through the press, but recourse was had, when the passions of men were excited, to coercion. Under the pretext, therefore, of zeal for religion, the general of his order obtained permission to cast him into prison. His enemies must have found much difficulty in carrying their point, as Bacon was sixty-four years old before they succeeded. But at that period he was subjected to many hardships, during part of the time a Franciscan, who, though a man of learning, was likely to enter into the prejudices of his order and party, being pope. He was at length released by the

interposition of some noblemen, and passed the remainder of his days in peace. He received the title of doctor mirabilis, or wonderful doctor; and died in the college of his order, at Oxford, either in the year 1292, or in 1294. His title of doctor mirabilis shews the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries, and in every sense of the word he was a wonderful man. In the *Biographia Britannica* may be found a list of his works, too long to be here transcribed. He was a linguist as well as a man of science, and was acquainted with Hebrew and Chaldec, as well as Latin and Greek. We are told that his writings are composed with such elegance, conciseness, and strength, and adorned with such just and exquisite observations on nature, that, among all the chemists, his equal is not to be found. He wrote many treatises, some of which are lost, or are only to be found in private libraries. Those which relate to chemistry, are chiefly two small pieces written at Oxford, which are now in print; the manuscripts are to be seen in the public library of Leyden, having been carried thither among Vossius's manuscripts from England. In these he attempts to shew how imperfect metals may be ripened into perfect ones. He adopts Geber's notion, that mercury is the common basis of all metals, and sulphur the cement; and shews that it is by a gradual depuration of the mercurial matter, and the accession of a subtle sulphur, that nature produces gold; and that if, during the process, any other third matter happens to intervene beside the mercury and sulphur, some other baser metal will arise: so that if we could but imitate nature's method, we might change other metals into gold. Having compared (says Dr Shaw, to whom we are indebted for these remarks,) several of friar Bacon's operations with the modern experiments of M. Homberg, made by direction of the duke of Orleans, we judge that Bacon has described some of the very things which Homberg publishes as new discoveries. Thus, for instance, Bacon teaches expressly, that if a pure sulphur be united with mercury, it will pro-



duce gold: on which very principle M. Homberg has made many experiments for the production of gold, described in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences*, an. 1705. His other physical writings shew no less genius and force of mind. In his treatise of the secret works of art and nature, he shews that a person who was perfectly acquainted with the manner which nature observes in her operations, would be able not only to rival, but to surpass her. In another piece, on the subject of magic, he shews with great sagacity and penetration, whence the notion of magic sprung, and how weak all pretences to it are. From a repeated perusal of his works (adds the same skilful chemist) we find our friar was no stranger to many of the capital discoveries of the present and past ages. Gunpowder he certainly knew; thunder and lightening, he tells us, may be produced by art; for that sulphur, nitre, and charcoal, which when separate have no sensible effect, when mixed together in a due proportion, and closely confined and fired, yield a loud report. A more precise description of gunpowder cannot be given in words; and yet a jesuit, Barthol. Schwartz, some ages after, has had the glory of the discovery. He likewise mentions a sort of inextinguishable fire, prepared by art; which shews he was not unacquainted with phosphorus: and that he had a notion of the rarefaction of the air, and the structure of air-pump, is past contradiction. Dr Freind ascribes the honour of introducing chemistry into Europe to Bacon, who, he observes, speaks in some part or other of his works of almost every operation now used in chemistry, and describes the method of making tinctures and elixirs. 'He was the miracle (says Freind) of the age he lived in, and the greatest genius perhaps for mechanical knowledge, which ever appeared in the world since Archimedes: he appears likewise to have been master of the whole science of optics.' He has very accurately described the uses of reading-glasses, and shewn the way of making them. Dr Freind remarks, that he also describes the camera obscura, and all sorts of glasses which magnify or diminish any

object, bring it nearer to the eye, or remove it farther off. Bacon tells us himself that he had great numbers of burning glasses ; and that there were none ever in use among the Latins, till his friend Peter de Maharn Curia applied himself to the making of them. That the telescope was not unknown to him, is evident from a passage wherein he says, that he was able to form glasses in such a manner, with respect to our sight and the objects, that the rays shall be refracted and reflected wherever we please, so that we may see a thing under what angle we think proper, either near or at a distance, and be able to read the smallest letter at an incredible distance, and to count the dust and sand, on account of the greatness of the angle under which we see the objects ; and also that we shall scarce see the greatest bodies near us, on account of the smallness of the angle under which we view them. His skill in astronomy was amazing ; he discovered that error which occasioned the reformation of the calendar ; one of the greatest efforts, according to Dr Jebb, of human industry : and his plan for correcting it was followed by pope Gregory XIII. with this variation, that Bacon would have had the correction to begin from the birth of our Saviour, whereas Gregory's amendment reaches no higher than the Nicene Council.—*Biog. Brit. Tanner. Fuller. Wood.*

BACON, ROBERT, was born about the year 1198. Some of the events of his life are confounded with those of his more distinguished contemporary in the preceding article, to whom he is sometimes supposed, but without sufficient evidence, to have been related. Like him, he studied first at Oxford, and then went to Paris, where he formed a friendship with Groseteste, afterwards the celebrated bishop of Lincoln. After his return, he settled at Oxford, and read divinity lectures there in conjunction with Dr Edmund Rich, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. In 1233, he preached a sermon before Henry III., in which he told that king plainly the mischiefs that arose from his

reposing too great confidence in Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, and other foreigners, and obtained by his patriotic courage great reputation. When Dr Rich was promoted, Bacon associated himself with Fishakel, and read lectures in St Edward's schools, and was very assiduous in preaching. In 1240, Bacon, though old, entered into the order of friars' preachers, of which order also was his friend Fishakel. He wrote many theological works in high esteem at the time. Among these was a book of glosses on the Holy Scriptures; another on the Psalter, and two collections of discourses and lectures.—*Tanner. Pegge's Life of Groseteste. Fuller. Wood. Leland. Bale. Pits.*

BACONTHORP, JOHN, was born about the end of the thirteenth century, at Baconthorp, a village in Norfolk. In his youth he was a monk of the convent of Blakeney. After some years spent there he removed to Oxford, and from thence to Paris, where he acquired a great reputation for learning, and was esteemed the head of the followers of Averroes. He acquired the title of the "resolute doctor." Upon his return to England, he was chosen the twelfth provincial of the English Carmelites, in a general assembly of that order, held in London, in 1329. Of his works the following have been published: *Commentaria seu Quæstiones per quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, which has passed through six editions; *Compendium Legis Christi et quodlibeta*. Leland, Bale, and Pitts, have given a catalogue of his writings. He died at London in 1346. He was of diminutive stature, which seems to have afforded amusement, if not to his contemporaries, to subsequent writers, who have compared his gigantic mind with his dwarfish body, with wit more pleasing to themselves than to their readers, as the comparison is obvious.—*Biog. Brit. Tanner.*

BADCOCK, SAMUEL, was born at South Moulton, Devonshire, in the year 1747: he was educated as a dissenting



teacher. He was first placed at Beer Regis, Dorsetshire, and then at Barnstaple, whence he returned to South Moulton, and there, in 1778, he commenced his career as a man of literature. He was the author of a poem called *The Hermitage*, but was chiefly distinguished as a critic and reviewer. In this character he gained great credit by his review of Madan's *Thelyphthóra*, concerning which he writes in 1780, that the publisher of the magazine had been "applied to by several gentlemen, to solicit the reviewer to undertake a full and complete answer to the work, which may stand as a vindication of our present marriage economy, against not Madan only, but all advocates for polygamy and concubinage." He had been the friend of Dr Priestley, and was tainted with socinian principles, which brought him into some trouble. We find him addressing Dr Priestley, in a letter, dated 1774, in the following terms, which shew the unpleasant position of a dissenting minister, and how far he is from enjoying in practice, the liberty which in theory he maintains :

"You very affectionately enquire into my situation with my people. Some give me uneasiness, and, I believe, would do every thing in their power to distress me, or injure me. I never preach upon any subject of a disputable nature. But this, with many, is a bare negative qualification. "He that is not for us is against us," is their constant language. I am obliged to avoid their company, as I always meet with something or other which gives me pain. One or two have begun to withdraw their subscriptions ; and I am threatened by others with a separation. The malecontents have not number or power to support a divided interest. I have desired those who are discontented to withdraw, and leave me with my friends in quiet. But their aim is, to infuse jealousies into others of greater consequence, and thus weary me out by complaints, or drive me out by mere force.

"I saw their design most plainly this very week. I was desired to use the doxologies, as my predecessor used to do, both in prayer and singing. I told them, I would

keep to the words of Scripture, knowing that would be most acceptable to God, and safest for man. They then insisted on my teaching the *Assembly's Catechism*. This at once, without hesitation, I positively refused. They asked me the reason. I told them, I had not only objections to many of its principles, but thought it absurd to teach children a system of religion that contains in it many points of abstruse, speculative, and disputable theology. This positive and explicit refusal hath, I believe, totally confirmed their suspicions of my heterodoxy.

“What the consequences will be, I know not. This is my consolation,—that nothing can eventually harm me if I am a follower of that which is good. I will maintain my independency, and hope never to violate my honesty. It distresses me beyond measure to think that I cannot wholly and unreservedly speak out the sentiments of my mind. I would mingle prudence with innocence, and keep peace with man and conscience; but if a sacrifice is demanded, I hope I shall not hesitate which to make the victim. I wish to be settled among a people of more uniformity of sentiment, and more liberal-mindedness. It is odious to walk about in fetters. I should grieve to see the congregation lessened by my means. If they could be united in one more universally liked, I would willingly resign, though I should have no place in view. Yet there are numbers who would grieve to lose me. I thank God that I have been enabled to maintain a consistency of character, and that I have not forfeited the esteem of one person through a defect in duty, moral or religious. With this thought I bear up, and hope boldly to meet the worst.”

But Dr Priestley's writings came under his notice as a reviewer; and as Badcock was a man of candid mind, he entirely changed his views, and attacked Priestley with much power in the *Monthly Review*. In allusion to this, he writes in 1783:

“I have pursued Dr P. step by step, and shewn the futility of his arguments, and the—yes, I will speak it—

the FALSEHOODS of HIS ASSERTIONS. You will be *startled* at some of them. You will be amazed at his—what shall I call it?—ignorance or impudence—I know not which to call it—especially in the matter of Jerome and Athanasius. In the former, he appeals to a passage which I had intended, in my original remarks, to have brought against *him*. You will see whose cause it serves. I must observe one thing; Priestley doth not quote one word of the passage, only refers to it in *the gross*. I have brought forward the *whole*, and in the *words* of Jerome, and leave the decision of the question with the reader. I really believe that he translated the words false, and so was led into the whole mistake; for it is such a blunder as utter ignorance alone could have made, and common prudence would have warned him against, if he had formed the least idea of its meaning. The words are, *Quid dicam de Ebionitis?* i. e. ‘But *why* should I speak of the Ebionites?’ I believe P. thought the meaning to be, ‘But *what* shall I speak of the Ebionites?’ and so supposed the next clause (which treats of the Nazarenes) to speak of them also. Hence he infers that they were the *same* class of people. The original passage proves they were *distinct*. His appeal to Athanasius is really a *fraud*. I am troubled to shew it; but it must be!”

In 1784 Dr White delivered his celebrated Bampton lectures at Oxford. In these, Dr White was so much assisted by Badcock, that the latter is accounted by many the real author of the volume. The whole controversy which afterwards arose on the subject is given by Dr John Johnstone, in his interesting and learned “Life of Dr Parr,” who remarks, “Whether the plan of the Bampton lectures was solely White’s, may be doubted. Much of the execution lay between him and Badcock; but the whole was superintended and revised by Parr.” The whole controversy of the authorship is discreditable to all parties concerned in it. White’s Bampton lectures are conspicuous among the few in that series distinguished for learning and eloquence. The appointment of the



lecturer rests with the Heads of Houses, who have seldom much time to devote to the study of theology, and who, in choosing their lecturer, look chiefly to the negative qualification, that he will not give offence, while the deeper theologian is too often carefully avoided, lest he should perplex, rather than edify, by his theological learning, minds ill prepared for such studies. That among the few Bampton lectures which have maintained a character for learning, the de facto author of one course should be a dissenter, was considered at the time a disgrace to the university; but it was a disgrace which Badcock took an opportunity of removing. He was in heart a churchman when he assisted Dr White, and conforming soon after. He was ordained in 1787, and became curate of Broad Clyst. It is said that he was ordained by Dr Ross, bishop of Exeter, deacon on one Sunday and priest on the next, without examination. Such conduct on the part of a bishop cannot be sufficiently reprobated. Instead of making it easy to come into the Church, we ought, even with respect to the laity, to point out to them the fresh responsibilities which as churchmen they contract, and not permit them to join us until they have given proof of their penitence and sorrow, for having, either through misfortune or through self will, adhered to a schismatical body: but much more ought this to be the case with respect to those who have exercised the ministry in dissenting congregations. Even on grounds purely political and external, there is great injustice in admitting the teachers of schismatical bodies too early into the sacred offices of the Church. We compel our own members to go to one of the universities, and to incur the expenses of a good education, and yet this is too often omitted in favour of those who, while others have been acquiring learning, have been employed in inculcating false doctrines, and encouraging schism. The persons forsaking a false system are to be encouraged doubtless; we are not severe in blaming them for having adhered to a system in which they have been educated: we make allowances

for men while we censure the system : but this is very different from offering them advantages which we withhold from our own faithful children ; from making ministry in dissent a stepping stone to clerical orders ; from rewarding what is censurable, and leading men to suppose that when differences are vital, in fact, they only relate to things indifferent. Badcock did not live to give proof of his ministry, for in 1788, at the early age of forty-one, he died.—*Johnstone's Life of Parr. Gent. Mag.*

BADIA, TOMMASO, was born at Modena, about the year 1483, and became a dominican. Having distinguished himself in various important offices, he was appointed by pope Paul III one of the members of the congregation of Worms, convoked by Charles V in 1540, preparatory to the council of Trent. In 1542 he was made a cardinal. He was concerned in drawing up the celebrated memorial to pope Paul III, of which the object was to entreat the pope to undertake the reformation of various corruptions and abuses which had crept into all the catholic churches, and into the church of Rome itself. He died on the 6th of September, 1547.—*Biog. Univer.*

BAGGER, JOHN, bishop of Copenhagen, was born at Lunden, in 1646. His reputation was so high for oriental and theological learning, that at the age of twenty-nine he was raised to the episcopal dignity. He revised the Danish liturgy, and published some discourses in Latin and Danish. He died in 1693.—*Moreri.*

BAGOT, LEWIS, an eminent prelate, was the son of sir Walter Bagot, baronet, and born in 1740. He received his education at Westminster school, from whence he was elected to Christ-church, Oxford, where he took his degree of LL.D. in 1772. The year preceding, he obtained a canonry in that cathedral, and at the same time married Miss Hay, niece of the earl of Kinnoul. In 1777 he was promoted to the deanry of Christ-church, and in 1782 to

the bishopric of Bristol, from which see the year following he was removed to Norwich, and in 1790 to St Asaph, where he rebuilt the episcopal palace. He died of a consumption in 1802, and was buried in the cathedral of St Asaph. Bishop Bagot was the author of a letter to Dr Bell, on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 8vo; a volume of sermons on the prophecies, preached at bishop Warburton's lecture in Lincoln's Inn chapel; some single discourses, tracts, and poems.—*Gent. Mag.*

BAIER, JOHN WILLIAM, a German theologian, was born at Nuremberg, in 1647. He became the first rector and professor of divinity in Halle, in Saxony, where he died in 1694. He wrote a compendium of theology, and other works.—*Moreri.*

BAIL, LOUIS, a learned French divine, was born of English parents at Abbeville. He became sub-penitentiary of the metropolitan church at Paris, where he published, in 1651, a work entitled "De Triplici examine ordinand. confess. et penitent." 8vo. He assisted also in superintending some editions of the councils, and in 1666 printed a work upon the most celebrated preachers, before which he published a treatise "De Beneficio Crucis," 8vo.—*Moreri.*

BAILLIE, ROBERT, was born in 1599, at Glasgow, where he took his degree of M.A., received episcopal orders, and became regent of philosophy. He afterwards obtained the living of Kilwinning; but in the civil war he joined the covenanters, renounced episcopacy, and was sent to London to exhibit charges against archbishop Laud. While he was in England he sent to the presbytery a regular account of public affairs, with a journal of the trial of the earl of Strafford. He was chosen one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, and returned to his own country in 1646. He was one of the commissioners sent by the general assembly of Scotland to Charles II at the



Hague. At the restoration he was made principal of his college, and might have had a bishopric if he would have conformed. He died in 1662. His letters, and the journal of his transactions in England, were published at Edinburgh, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1775.—*Gen. Dict.*

BAIUS, or DE BAY, was born at Melin, in the territory of Aeth, in the year 1513. He was educated at Louvaine, where he so distinguished himself that at an early age he was made principal of the college of Standerick, (so called from the name of the founder.) Having been three years in that office, he became a lecturer in philosophy, and obtained the place of principal of the pope's college in the year 1549. In the same year he took his degree of licentiate in divinity. Two years after he took his doctor's degree, and was made regius professor of the Scripture. In 1563 he was sent by the king of Spain as one of the divines to attend the council of Trent, in which council he greatly distinguished himself. He was a very learned man, and had read St Augustine's works nine times. His admiration of St Augustine involved him in a controversy, which has caused him to be regarded as the precursor of Jansenism. (See Arnauld and Jansenius.) His Augustinian opinions were opposed by Tapper and Ravesteyn, two divines of Louvaine. They selected eighteen of the dogmas of Baius, and laid them as heretical before the university of Paris. The accusation caused considerable ferment, as we may well suppose: strong party feeling was excited against Baius, for having disturbed the peace of the Church. And a censure was issued by the university in 1560, by which three of these dogmas were declared erroneous, and fifteen either partly or wholly heretical. The Franciscan friars also appealed against Baius's doctrine to cardinal Granvella, governor of the low countries. But he enjoined silence to both parties. In the year 1565 he published his works, *De Meritis Operum*; *De prima Hominis Justicia et Virtutibus Impiorum*; *De Sacramentis in genere contra Calvinum*. And in the following

year, *De Libero Hominis Arbitrio, de Charitate et Justificatione*. On the 1st of October, 1567, Pius IV was induced to publish the bull, in which seventy-six dogmas were condemned, but without naming Baius. He submitted to the decision, but still wrote, in terms rather explicit to the pope, who answered, that he must submit himself unreservedly; which he finally did, kneeling before the legate Morillon. Although recriminations continued on either side, he obtained the deanry of St Peter's, in Louvaine, in 1575, and as the university of Louvaine sided with Baius, he was elected in 1578, chancellor thereof, and eventually the pope nominated him inquisitor general in the Low Countries. He died 16th December, 1589. *Bayle. Moreri.*

BAKER, DAVID, was born at Abergavenny in 1575. He was educated, first, at Christ's hospital, London, and next at Broadgate hall, now Pembroke college, Oxford, which he left without a degree, and was entered a student of the Middle Temple. An extraordinary escape, which occurred to him while travelling in Wales, made him very serious; and meeting with some Roman Catholic treatises of devotion, he was so much struck with them as to change his religion. He joined himself to a small society of united Benedictines, whom he found in London, and then going to Italy, he was formally admitted into the order. He returned to England, where he spent seven years, and then settled at Cambray, as spiritual father of the English Benedictine nuns of that place. Here he employed himself in making collections for ecclesiastical history. To the labours of Baker the church history published by Hugh Cressy is much indebted. He returned once more to England before his death, which took place in August, 1641. On his return to England he associated with some of our chief antiquaries, passing among them for a lawyer. By Cressy was published after Baker's death,

Sanctæ Sophia, or “Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation,” extracted out of various treatises written by him.—Wood’s *Athenæ*. Granger.

BAKER, THOMAS, was born in 1656, and educated in the grammar school of Durham; from thence he went to St John’s college, Cambridge, where he took his degrees of bachelor and master of arts, and in 1679 became a fellow of the college. He was ordained deacon in 1685, and priest very soon after, and was appointed one of the university preachers. He was soon after nominated by Crew, then bishop of Durham, his chaplain, who gave him in June, 1687, the rectory of Long Newton. His connexion with the bishop however did not last long, for he quitted his family for refusing to read king James the Second’s declaration for liberty of conscience: of this affair Baker himself gives the following account:

“When the king’s declaration was appointed to be read, the most condescending thing the bishop ever did was coming to my chambers [remote from his] to prevail with me to read it in his chapel at Auckland, which I could not do, having wrote to my curate not to read it at my living at Long Newton. But he did prevail with the curate at Auckland to read it in his church, when the bishop was present to countenance the performance. When all was over, the bishop (as penance I presume) ordered me to go to the dean to require him to make a return to court of the names of all such as did not read it, which I did, though I was one of the number.” But this bishop, who disgraced Mr Baker for his refusal, and was excepted out of king William’s pardon, took the oaths to that king, and retained his bishopric till his death. Mr Baker resigned Long Newton August 1, 1690, on refusing to take the oaths, and retired to his fellowship at St John’s, in which he was protected till January 20, 1717, when, with one-and-twenty others, he was dispossessed of it. This, we are told “hurt him most of all, not from the profit he re-



ceived from it, but that some whom he thought his sincerest friends came so readily into the new measures, particularly Dr Robert Jenkin the master, who wrote a defence of the profession of Dr Lake, bishop of Chichester, concerning the new oaths and passive obedience, and resigned his precentorship of Chichester, and the vicarage of Waterbeach, in the county of Cambridge. Mr Baker could not persuade himself but he might have shewn the same indulgence to his scruples on that occasion, as he had done before while himself was of that way of thinking. Of all his sufferings none therefore gave him so much uneasiness. In a letter from Dr Jenkin, addressed to Mr Baker, fellow of St John's, he made the following remark on the superscription: 'I was so then; I little thought it should be by him that I am now no fellow; but God is just, and I am a sinner.' After the passing the registering act, 1723, he was desired to register his annuity of forty pounds, which the last act required before it was amended and explained. Though this annuity left him by his father for his fortune, with twenty pounds per annum out of his collieries by his elder brother from the day of his death, August 1699, for the remaining part of the lease, which determined at Whitsuntide 1723, was now his whole subsistence, he could not be prevailed on to secure himself against the act, but wrote thus in answer to his friend: 'I thank you for your kind concern for me: and yet I was very well apprised of the late act, but do not think it worth while at this age, and under these infirmities, to give myself and friends so much trouble about it. I do not think that any living besides myself knows surely that my annuity is charged upon any part of my cousin Baker's estate; or if they do, I can hardly believe that any one, for so poor and uncertain a reward, will turn informer; or if any one be found so poorly mean and base, I am so much acquainted with the hardships of the world, that I can bear it. I doubt not I shall live under the severest treatment of my enemies; or, if I cannot live, I am sure I shall die, and that is comfort enough to me. If a con-

veyance will secure us against the act, I am willing to make such a conveyance to them, not fraudulent or in trust, but in as full and absolute a manner as words can make it; and if that shall be thought good security, I desire you will have such a conveyance drawn and sent me by the post, and I will sign it and leave it with any friend you shall appoint till it can be sent to you.’”

Although ejected, as a nonjuror, from his fellowship, he remained, as a master of arts, resident in his college till the time of his death in 1740.

Notwithstanding the hard treatment he had received from the revolutionary government, he was a great benefactor to his college. His only considerable work is his “*Reflexions on Learning*,” in which he shews the insufficiency of learning in order to shew the necessity of revelation,—a book which has often been reprinted; but there was scarcely a work published during his life in the department of English history, biography and antiquities, in which there are not to be found acknowledgments of the assistance received from him. He left many manuscripts, and contributed twenty-three volumes to the celebrated Harleian Manuscripts, now in the British Museum.—Horace Walpole wrote a life of Baker. See also Nichols’ *Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*; and the *Gentleman’s Magazine*.

BALDERIC, or BAUDRI, was born at Meur-sur-Loire, in the middle of the eleventh century. In 1070 he became abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Bourgueil in Anjou, and in 1107 bishop of Dol. He devoted himself to the work of civilizing the Britons; but possessed the friendship of some of the most considerable personages of his age, and among them of Adela, countess of Blois, and of Cecilia, abbess of Caen, the two daughters of William the Conqueror. He died in the year 1130. He was the author of several works of considerable importance to the historian, especially of an enlargement of the history of the first crusade by Phendebode, entitled “*Historiæ Hier-*

osolymitanæ Libri quatuor;" and also a history of his see from St Samson to his own time, under the title of "*Gesta Pontificum Dolensium.*"—*Moreri. Biog. Univ.*

BALDOCKE, or BAUDAKE, RALPH DE, lord chancellor of England, was educated at Merton college, Oxford, and was afterwards a prebendary of St Paul's cathedral. He became archdeacon of Middlesex in 1276, and in 1290 appears to have visited Rome. In 1294 he was elected dean of St Paul's, and in 1304 bishop of London. But his election to the see of London was controverted; and in this controversy we have one of the many instances which occurred about this period, in which the dignity and independence of our venerable and beloved establishment were compromised by the private pique or ambition of individuals, by an appeal to Rome, the circumstances of the appeal were as follows:—During the vacancy of the see, the archbishop had visited the church of St Paul's, and suspended three of the canons, one of whom was Peter de Dene. Afterwards, when the chapter met for the choice of a bishop, the three deprived canons demanded their seat among the rest; but being refused it, they protested against the election, and ap-  
in their choice; after which Peter de Dene, in the name pealed to the pope. The chapter nevertheless proceeded of the three canons, appealed a second time against the election and confirmation, and obtained from the pope a citation to the bishop elect, to appear on a certain day at Rome, before Landulph cardinal deacon of St Angelo, who was appointed to hear and determine the cause. Accordingly the new bishop set out for Rome the 8th of September; but pope Benedict dying in the interim, cardinal Landulph referred the cause to his successor pope Clement. In short, Baldock and Peter appeared on the day assigned; but, Peter renouncing his appeal, and dropping the cause, the pope ratified Baldock's election and confirmation, and ordered him to be consecrated.



He was consecrated at Lyons by the bishop of Abba in 1306. He was in the same year summoned to the parliament held at Carlisle, and was then nominated one of the king's council; he was appointed by the pope also one of the commissioners for the examination of the articles alleged against the Knights Templars. The year following he was made lord high chancellor of England; but Edward I. dying soon after, he resigned. He was a benefactor to our church, and was distinguished as an author. His "*Historia Anglica*," or an history of the British affairs down to his own time, is no longer extant, but it was seen by Leland. He published also a collection of the statutes and constitutions of the church of St Paul's. He died at Stepney, July 24, 1313.—*Godwin. Biog. Brit.*

BALDOCK, ROBERT, was lord chancellor of England in the seventeenth year of the reign of Edward II. He was archdeacon of Middlesex; and it is reported by some, says Godwin, that after the death of bishop Salmon he was elected by the monks of Norwich to that see, and received his temporalities in 1325; but "it seemeth likelier, which others affirm, that he renounced the election of his own accord." He is honourably distinguished for his fidelity to Edward II in his troubles, and in the troubles of his sovereign he was himself involved. He was seized by the enraged populace, and dragged into prison at Newgate, where he died miserably.—*Godwin. Biog. Brit.*

BALDRED, a disciple of St Mungo, and his immediate successor in the see of Glasgow. He founded many nunneries in Scotland, and died in the year 608.—*Alban Butler.*

BALDWIN, fortieth archbishop of Canterbury, was born of poor parents, in Exeter, where he received a liberal education, and became a schoolmaster. His learning and

good conduct in this situation was such, that he was advanced to the office of archdeacon in his native city. He was a very religious man, and his religion influenced him, according to the religious feeling of the age, to renounce his archdeaconry, and for the purpose of prayer, meditation, and study, to become a monk of the Cistercian order, in the monastery of Ford, in Devonshire. Here again his piety and good conduct were such, that he became abbot of Ford, and in 1180 bishop of Worcester. While he was bishop of Worcester, the see of Canterbury became vacant, and during its vacancy, one of those disputes arose which had, from time to time, before the reformation, a tendency to bring our venerable establishment more and more under the control of the pope: disputes arose; neither party could be brought to terms; appeals were made to the pope of Rome, and so our beloved church of England was brought under the jurisdiction of a foreign prince, prelate, and potentate. The circumstances of the election were as follows: the king, Henry II, was most anxious to have a quiet man elected to the metropolitan see: it was at this time a disputed point whether the election of the archbishop rested with the chapter of Christ-church, Canterbury, or with the suffragan bishops of the province: the right had, in times past, been exercised by both parties, and with both parties the king had connection. He first applied to the monks, and then to the bishops, to make choice of a person whom he should like: the monks would not, however, act in concert with the bishops, but, on seeing the bishops prepared to act, appealed to Rome. The bishops, instead of acting independently, as, being prelates of our independent church, they might have done, obtained a mandate that they and the monks should act together. The day of election was appointed, but the monks obstinately refused to attend. The bishops therefore proceeded to act without them, and elected Baldwin, bishop of Worcester. To Baldwin the monks had no objection; indeed he seems to have been acceptable to all parties, but they objected to the

precedent, and laboured, in consequence, to disannul the election. The king, however, equally favourable to Baldwin, so prevailed with both parties, that he persuaded the monks to elect Baldwin, and the bishops to admit, (which was the condition imposed by the monks,) that the former election was void and of none effect. Thus was Baldwin translated to Canterbury, in the year 1184. He was enthroned on the 19th of May, 1185. He was the first white monk who ever became an archbishop of the church of England. Giraldus Cambrensis gives of him the following description :—“ He was a man of a dark complexion, of an open and venerable countenance, of a moderate stature, a good person, and rather inclined to be thin than corpulent. He was a modest and grave man, of so great abstinence and continence, that ill report scarcely ever presumed to say any thing against him ; a man of few words ; slow to anger ; temperate and moderate in all his passions and affections ; swift to hear, slow to speak ; he was from an early age well instructed in literature, and bearing the yoke of THE LORD from his youth, by the purity of his morals, became a distinguished luminary to the people ; wherefore, voluntarily resigning the honour of the Arch-Levite,\* which he had canonically obtained, and despising the pomps and vanities of the world, he assumed, with holy devotion, the habit of the Cistercian order ; and as he had been formerly more than a monk in his manners, within the space of a year he was appointed abbot, and in a few years afterwards preferred, first to a bishopric, and then to an archbishopric ; and having been found faithful in a little, had authority given him over much. But, as Cicero says, ‘ Nature hath made nothing perfect ;’ when he came into power, not laying aside that sweet innate benignity which he had always shewn when a private man, sustaining his people with his staff, rather than chastising them with rods, feeding them

\* Giraldus here alludes to the dignity of archdeacon, which Baldwin had obtained in the church of Exeter.



as it were with the milk of a mother, and not making use of the scourges of the father; he incurred public scandal for his remissness. So great was his lenity, that he put an end to all pastoral rigour; and was a better monk than abbot, a better bishop than archbishop. Hence pope Urban addressed him, ‘Urban, servant of the servants of God, to the most fervent monk, to the warm abbot, to the lukewarm bishop, to the remiss archbishop, health, &c. &c.’

“This second successor to the martyr Thomas, having heard of the insults offered to our Saviour and his holy Cross, was amongst the first who signed himself with the cross, and manfully assumed the office of preaching its service both at home, and in the most remote parts of the kingdom. Pursuing his journey to the Holy Land, he embarked on board a vessel at Marseilles, and landed safely in a port at Tyre, from whence he proceeded to Acre, where he found our army both attacking and attacked; our forces dispirited by the defection of the princes, and thrown into a state of desolation and despair; fatigued by long expectation of supplies, greatly afflicted by hunger and want, and distempered by the inclemency of the air: finding his end approaching, he embraced his fellow subjects, relieving their wants by liberal acts of charity, and pious exhortations, and by the tenour of his life and actions strengthened them in the faith; whose ways, life, deeds, may He who is alone the ‘way, the truth, and the life,’ the way without offence, the truth without doubt, and the life without end, direct in truth, together with the whole body of the faithful, and for the glory of His name, and the palm of faith, which He hath planted, teach their hands to war, and their fingers to fight.”—*Giraldus Cambrensis. Godwin.*

BALE, JOHN. This reformer was born on the 21st of November, 1495, at Cove, in Suffolk. He entered early the monastery of the Carmelites, at Norwich, and from thence was sent to Jesus college, Oxford. There was, as is

well known, at this time a party rising in our beloved church which, bemoaning the prevailing irreligion and worldliness of mind which they saw around them, earnestly desired its reformation. To this incipient party in our church the monks and friars were the great opponents; and as these were the popular religionists and preachers of the day, and scarcely any one was accounted religious who did not belong to them; as they, in fact, formed what would now be called the religious world, very formidable opponents they were. Among the most zealous of his order against the new school, John Bale was to be found, and he vehemently supported the abuses of the church, until, by the persuasions of lord Wentworth, as he himself informs us, he was induced to take the reforming side; "although, in truth," says bishop Nicholson, "his wife Dorothy seems to have had a great hand in that happy work." It is certain that although bound by vows of celibacy, he thought that he might violate those vows, and take unto himself a wife. It was a blessed thing for the church of England that, at the reformation, the constrained celibacy of the clergy was removed, as, by experience, it was found to be an intolerable yoke: but those who were interested in removing the yoke from our clergy would have deserved the thanks of the Church, and maintained their own character more fully, had they refused to avail themselves of the liberty they vindicated for others. As it was, when those who had been monks, were seen to marry, the natural inference was that they were men whom no oaths could bind, and who, for domestic comfort, would sacrifice religion. The Romanists are accused by the protestants of trifling with the obligation of an oath under certain circumstances; the Romanists retaliate upon the protestants by pointing to the reformers, who so many of them gave proof in their own persons of their little regard for such obligations, and by quoting the defence of their proceeding from protestant writers, who are thus offenders on the very point on which they charge their opponents. Each party was blameworthy, on this point, in times past, let both amend for the future.

Bale now became as zealous in defence of the reformation as he was before in opposing it; and being, though a clergyman, one of our earliest dramatists, he sought to aid the cause by his plays. An account of his plays may be found in Collier's history of the stage. One of his dramas was published in 1838, by the Camden society: the title is, "De Joanne Anglorum rege and Kynge Johan." The events of king John's reign are here applied to the times of Henry VIII, and the struggles between romanizing and reforming parties, by which our church was divided in the latter reign. Bale is regarded as the first person who introduced profane history on the public stage. Of Bale the modern editors remark, "He possesses no peculiar claims as a poet, and though he could be severe as a moral censor, and violent as a polemic, he had little elevation and a limited fancy; his versification also is scarcely as good as that of some of his contemporaries."

Bale indeed seems to have been little more than a party man, and as such was patronized by lord Cromwell, who was ready to extend his patronage to all who, with as little principle as himself, took the side of the reformation. The patronage of Cromwell was no proof of religious excellence on the part of those to whom it was extended, although his discernment was such that we may argue from his friendly notice of an inferior, the existence of intellectual power. He was mightily pleased with the plays of Bale. But on the death of Cromwell, our reformer thought it expedient to retire into the Low Countries; for the reforming party was now no longer in the ascendant at court, and Bale had many enemies on the opposite side, his pen being "sharp and foul when he had foul subjects to deal with," a partizan considering all subjects foul which are opposed to him. He remained in Flanders until Edward VI. ascended the throne, and then, returning to England, he obtained the living of Bishopstoke, in Hampshire, where he remained till the year 1552, when he was nominated by Edward to the see of Ossory. In his work, *The Vocation of John Bale*, he gives a striking and interest-



ing account of his meeting with the king at Southampton. "The king," he says, "having information that I was there in the street, he marvelled thereat, for so much as it had been told him a little before, that I was both dead and buried. With that, his grace came to the window and earnestly beheld me, a poor weak creature, as though he had upon me, so simple a subject, an earnest regard or rather a very fatherly care." A youthful father to an aged man was Edward the Sixth; but it is interesting to see that the king, however young, was regarded as the father of his people *ex officio*. To Bale the offer of this bishopric was any thing but satisfactory. Considering the difficulty of loco-motion, and the dangers of the voyage the offer of the bishopric must have been like the offer in the present day of the sees of New Zealand or Australia a place which none but the most devoted persons would accept. Bale was at this time a family man, a man of literature, and comfortably provided for in one of the pleasantest counties of England. He laboured hard therefore to be excused, but the king would not excuse him and he was consecrated at Dublin, by the archbishop of that city, on the second of February, 1553. There was some dispute about the form of consecration. The ordinal had been reformed in England; but as the reformed ordinal had not received the sanction of the Irish parliament dean Lockwood doubted whether it would be either expedient or lawful to use it in his church. He applied to the chancellor for advice, who, on consulting with the archbishop, found that he and the bishops of Kildare and Down were of the same opinion as the dean. They did not object to the reformed ordinal, but thought it had no authority as yet in the church of Ireland. Dr Goodacre a friend of Bale's, who was to be consecrated as archbishop of Armagh, would have preferred the reformed ordinal but was unwilling to dispute the matter with the bishops. But the violent party feelings of Bale would not tolerate any other than the reformed ordinal; according to that he would be consecrated, or not be consecrated at all. He

affirmed that as England and Ireland were under one king, they were both bound to the observance of the same laws. His arguments or his obstinancy prevailed, and, acting under the advice of the chancellor, the bishops consecrated him according to the ordinal as still retained in the church of Ireland.

The violence and indiscretion of Bale soon rendered his residence in Ireland neither agreeable nor safe. Two of the bishop's plays, being very strong in favour of the reforming party, viz: "John the Baptist," and "God's Promises," were publicly acted on a Sunday in Kilkenny. It has been before observed that the Jewish manner of keeping the Lord's day was introduced into the church of England, not by the reformers, but by the puritans. Bale, however zealous, had no desire to die a martyr; and having intimation that his life was in danger he deserted his see, and for a time lay concealed in Dublin. From Dublin he fled secretly to Holland, and, after various adventures, took up his abode at Basle. He remained in Switzerland till the year 1559, when he came back to England. Either from unwillingness on his part to encounter the perils of an Irish bishopric, or from reluctance on the part of the government to appoint a person so indiscreet, Bale was not restored to his bishopric, neither was he offered a bishopric in England. He was content therefore with a stall at Canterbury, to which he was promoted on the 15th of January, 1560. He died in 1563.

He was a voluminous writer. Besides his plays his controversial works were numerous, and some of them extremely popular, especially his "Actes of English Votaries, comprehending their unchaste practices and examples." This went through four editions between 1546 and 1560, being equally popular with the puritans and the licentious. But his chief work is his "Summarium." This work is in Latin. It was not at first published complete: when it made its first appearance it was entitled *Summarium*

illustrium majoris Britanniae, quarto, Wesel, 1549. It was addressed to king Edward VI, and contained only five centuries of writers. He afterwards added four more, and made several additions and corrections throughout the whole work. The title of the book thus enlarged, is as follows, *Scriptorum illustrium majoris Britanniae, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, Catalogus, a Japheto per 3618 annos usque ad annum hunc Domini 1557, ex Beroso, Gennadio, Beda, Honorio, Bostone Buriensi, Frumentario, Capgravo, Bostio, Burello, Trissa, Tritemio, Gesnero, Joanne Lelando, atque aliis authoribus collectus, et ix. centurias continens.*

Of Bale as a writer, Henry Wharton says, "I know Bale to have been so great a liar that I am not willing to take any thing upon his credit." The same distinguished writer says in his "*Anglia Sacra*," "*Veritas Balæo parum curæ erat, dummodo Romanæ ecclesiæ inimicorum numerum augere posset.*" Little did Bale care for the truth, provided he could increase the enemies of the church of Rome." This might serve for a motto to some modern publications. Bishop Nicholson says of him: "The ground plot of his work was borrowed from Leland; and the chief of his own superstructure is malicious and bitter invectives against the papists." "Whoever," says the author of the preface to the first volume of Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, "will compare the centos of Bale and Pits with the excellent works of Leland and Camden must necessarily observe how near an alliance there is between zeal and ignorance, and between learning and moderation." Pits was in the Romish extreme what Bale was in the Protestant extreme. It is due, however, to our reformer to state that Gesner, in his "*Bibliotheca*," calls him "*vir diligentissimus*" a writer of the greatest diligence: and bishop Godwin, in his treatise on the conversion of the Britons to Christianity, gives him the character of a laborious enquirer into the British antiquities.—*Strype's Cranmer, Parker's Memorials. Biog. Brit. Wharton. Fuller. Nicholson's Historical Library.*



BALGUY, JOHN, was born in 1686 at Sheffield, in Yorkshire, where his father kept the grammar school, on whose death he became a pupil of Mr Daubuz, who succeeded to that situation. In 1702 he was admitted of St John's college, Cambridge, where he took his master's degree in 1726. He for some time superintended the school at Sheffield, and afterwards became private tutor to the grandfather of sir Joseph Banks. Having been admitted into holy orders, he obtained in 1711 a small living in Lincolnshire, and in 1715 he married the daughter of Mr Broomhead of Sheffield. In 1718 he became involved in the Bangorian controversy, contending on the side of bishop Hoadley, in most of whose heretical and latitudinarian views he seems to have coincided. He commenced by publishing this year, anonymously, Sylvius's Examination of certain doctrines taught by the Rev Mr Stebbing; and in 1719, Sylvius's Letter to the Rev Dr Sherlock; both in defence of bishop Hoadley. Mr Stebbing replied, and Mr Balguy rejoined, by publishing Sylvius's Defence of a Dialogue between a Papist and a Protestant, in answer to the Rev Mr Stebbing; with Remarks on that author's manner of writing. In 1726 he commenced an attack on the principles of lord Shaftesbury, by a Letter to a Deist, concerning the beauty and excellence of Moral Virtue, and the support which it receives from the Christian Revelation. In 1727 he was collated by bishop Hoadley to the prebend of South Grantham in Salisbury cathedral, to which attached the right of presentation to four livings. In the same year he published an assize sermon, On Party Spirit, preached at Newcastle. In 1728 he continued his assault on lord Shaftesbury's opinions, by the "Foundation of Moral Goodness, or an Inquiry into the original of our idea of Virtue, in two parts;" which he followed up by a Second Letter to a Diest; Divine Rectitude, or a brief Inquiry concerning the "Moral Perfections of the Deity. &c; the Law of Truth, or the obligations of reason essential to all

religion ;" and a Second Letter to a Deist, concerning a late book, entitled Christianity as old as the Creation, &c. Seldom have deistical dogmata received a more complete and triumphant refutation, in language pre-eminently courteous. In 1729 he was presented to the vicarage of Northallerton, which he retained until his death, in 1748, in the sixty-third year of his age. During this period he published also an essay on redemption, and a volume of sermons. His works were published together in two vols, 8vo. He died at Harrogate, on the 21st of September, 1748.—*Life by Dr Thomas Balguy.*

BALGUY, THOMAS, son of the Rev John Balguy, whose life has just been given, was born at Cox Close, near Ravensworth Castle, in Yorkshire, in 1716. He received his education under his father, and then proceeded to St John's college, Cambridge, where he took his master's degree in 1741, and in 1758, became doctor in divinity. In 1746 he was presented by his father to the rectory of North Stoke, near Grantham, which he vacated in 1771, on being inducted to the vicarage of Alton, in Hampshire. In 1757 he obtained a prebend in Winchester cathedral, and afterwards was made successively archdeacon of Salisbury and Winchester. His patron was Hoadley, bishop of Winchester, his father's friend, from whose heretical views, however, he dissented more and more. In 1769 he published a sermon at the consecration of Dr Shute Barrington, bishop of Landaff, which was answered in a very weak manner by Dr Priestley. In 1772 he printed a charge, in which he defended subscription to the articles. In 1775 he preached the sermon at the consecration of bishops Hurd and Moore, which discourse, when printed, was also attacked by a dissenter. In the same year Dr Balguy edited the sermons of Dr Powell, to which he prefixed a memoir of the author. On the death of bishop Warburton, he was offered the see of Gloucester. The writer of this article remembers the description given

by the late venerable dean of Winchester, Dr Rennell, (of whom he desires to make honourable mention as one of the kind friends of his youth, and as one of the most learned as well as amiable men of the generation now, for the most part, gone to their rest,) of the arrival of the king's messenger to announce the intention of king George III to recommend Dr Balguy to the dean and chapter of Gloucester for their bishop. He arrived in the middle of the night, and the disturbance he occasioned as he rode into the close, aroused all the prebendaries in residence. On receiving the appointment, Dr Balguy wrote a short note to lord North, the prime minister, asking permission, on the score of ill health and old age, to decline the bishopric, but expressing his gratitude to the king. He felt the duties of the episcopal office to be too onerous to be undertaken by a valetudinarian of sixty-five. He then retired to the bed from which he had been suddenly aroused, and slept undisturbed by the unexpected mark of royal favour he had received, merely remarking the following day, that he hoped, whenever government had a communication to make to any of his brother prebendaries, they would so arrange matters as not to disturb the slumbers of an old invalid.

Dr Rennell was at that time a young man, and full of admiration of Dr Balguy, to whom, when riding with him one Saturday, he expressed a desire to return home at an earlier hour than usual, as he had a *short* sermon to write for the following day; on which Dr Balguy remarked: "Sir, you have not *time* for a short sermon."

In 1781 he published "Divine Benevolence Asserted, a summary defence drawn from natural religion of God and His Providence against the objections and scoffs of the sceptic." In 1783 he published his Discourses, which were reprinted in 1785, with his charges added to the volume. He died, unmarried, January 19th, 1795.—Nichols's *Life of Bouryer*. Warburton's *Letters to Hurd*. Wood's *Life of Wharton*. *Gent. Mag.*



BALL, JOHN, was born at Cassington, near Woodstock, in 1585, and was educated in a private school, kept by the vicar of Yarnton, a neighbouring parish. He entered Brazenose college, Oxford, in 1602; and after five years' residence, removed to St Mary hall, and took the degree of B.A. in 1608. Soon after this date, he went to reside in the family of lady Cholmondeley in Cheshire, as tutor to her children. There he became acquainted with some zealous puritans, and became himself one of the number: whereupon leaving his situation, he removed to London, and was there ordained by an Irish bishop without subscription. He settled as a minister in Staffordshire, as the curate of Whitmore, where he lived the rest of his days an obscure life, but by the benevolence of Mr Mainwaring he had a house provided for him and a sufficient maintenance. Baxter speaks of him thus; "he deserved as high esteem and honour as the best bishop in England; yet looking after no higher things, but living comfortably and prosperously with these!" He appears to have been, though a puritan, one of the most moderate of the party, disaffected indeed to the ceremonies and constitution of the Church, but not deeming this affection in himself or others a ground sufficient for separation from it. He died on the 20th of October, 1640. He published many works.—*Biog. Brit. Clarke's Lives.*

BALSAMON, THEODORE, flourished at the end of the 12th century. He was born at Constantinople, where he became chancellor and librarian of the cathedral St Sophia. He was nominated to the patriarchate of Antioch, but did not succeed in getting himself installed. He was flattered by the emperor Isaac Comnenus, with the hope of being made patriarch of Constantinople, but he never obtained that see. He died about the year 1204. He published several valuable works, and was distinguished by his zeal against the church of Rome. His works are, 1. "Commentarius in Canones SS Apostolorum," &c, of which the

best edition is that of bishop Beveridge in his *paradocts of Canons*, Oxford, 1672. 2. "Commentarius in Photii Nomocanonem, Paris, 1615." 3. "Collectio Ecclesiasticarum Constitutionum," printed in Justelli Bibliotheca Juris Canon. vol ii. 4. "Responsa ad varias questiones jus Canonicum spectantes;" and other tracts which have been published in different collections.—*Dupin. Care. Fabric. Bibl. Græc.*

BALSHAM, HUGH DE, or de Bedesale, or Belesale, was most probably born at Balsham in Cambridgeshire, about the beginning of the thirteenth century. Being first a monk he afterwards became sub-prior of the Benedictine monastery at Ely. And on the vacancy of the see in 1247, he was chosen by the chapter to be the bishop, notwithstanding a mandate from the king for the election of his chancellor Henry de Wingham. The king had recommended Wingham without his knowledge, and when the good chancellor heard of it, and that the choice had fallen upon Balsham, he went to the king, Henry III., and entreated him to permit the chapter to pursue the course they had begun, and to use no intimidation: "for," said he, "after invocation of the name of God for grace and the direction of His Holy Spirit, they have chosen a man more worthy than myself; and God forbid that I should as it were invade that noble bishopric by force, or usurp the ministry of the same with a seared or cauterised conscience." The king, however, did not desist from his violence but felled the woods, spoiled the ponds, and wasted the manors of the bishopric. In the meantime Boniface archbishop of Canterbury had a candidate for the diocese in Adam de Maris, a learned minorite friar. Both de Balsham and de Maris were eminently qualified by piety and learning for the office.

This dispute like so many similar ones had a tendency to bring our excellent establishment under the dominion of the pope, for to him all parties referred for its settlement. The pope taking advantage of the frequent appeals

made to him in controverted elections, by degrees got most of the preferments into his own hands and assumed that he had a right to dispose of them. He gradually usurped the rights of the king, the chapter, and the patrons, by a variety of artifices, until the tyranny became intolerable, and led among other things to the reformation of our church.

For ten years this dispute about the bishopric of Ely was carried on, and then it was decided in favour of Hugh de Balsham. He was consecrated on the 14th of October, 1257. Being thus established in his see he applied himself to works of charity, and in 1257, or 1259, he laid the foundation of St Peter's College in Cambridge, which he endowed for the maintenance of one master, fourteen fellows, two bible clerks, and eight poor scholars, whose number might be increased according to the improvement of their revenue. The munificent founder did not live to see the completion of his work, for he died at Dodington on the 16th of June, 1286.—*Godwin. Biog. Brit. Ben-tham's Hist. of Ely.*

BALTUS, John Francis, a French jesuit, born at Metz, in 1667, taught belles-lettres at Dijon and at Pont-à-Mousson, and the Scriptures at Strasburg. In 1717 he went to Rome, but soon returned to France, where he died in 1743, librarian of the college at Rheims. He is best known by his answer to Fontenelle's History of Oracles, printed at Strasburg, in 1707 and 1709. Vandale an anabaptist physician at Haerlem attacked the received opinion of the Church, that heathen oracles were the work of demons, and maintained that they were the mere contrivances of the priests; and instead of attributing their silence to the power of our Lord, he referred the destruction of their temples to the art of the emperors. This sceptical view was adopted by Fontenelle, who advocated it with his usual ability, and it was in answer to Fontenelle that the work of Baltus was published. It was translated into English by Hickes. He published another very



learned work on a kindred subject, "Defence des SS Peres accusés de Platonisme," in which he examines the platonism of the fathers, and the custom of referring the great mysteries of our religion to certain ideas and opinions invented by a pagan philosopher. He was the author of several other works of considerable importance.—*Moreri*.

BAMBRIDGE, or BAINBRIDGE, CHRISTOPHER, was born towards the close of the reign of Henry VI. at Hilton, near Appleby, in Westmoreland, and graduated at Queen's college, Oxford. He entered into holy orders, and became provost of his college. In 1503, he was made dean of York. In 1505, dean of Windsor and master of the rolls; in 1507 bishop of Durham; and in 1508 archbishop of York. He was believed to have performed an important service for the court of Rome about this time, by inducing king Henry VIII. to take part with the pope against Louis XII. and for this he was rewarded with the dignity of cardinal-priest of St Praxedis. This, according to Godwin, was in March 1511. He was one of the very few members of our beloved church of England, who were advanced to the dignity of cardinal in the church of Rome. He enjoyed these high dignities but a few years. In his death there was something remarkable. Godwin, after Paulus Jovius, relates the circumstances thus; being at Rome in 1514, he was taken off by poison, which was administered by Rivaldus de Modena, a priest, his steward, in revenge for having been beaten by him, as he confessed upon his execution. He died on the 14th of July in that year, and was buried in the English hospital at Rome.—*Godwin. Wood. Biog. Brit.*

BANCROFT RICHARD, was born at Farnworth, Lancashire, in September, 1544. His mother was the niece of Dr. Hugh Curayn, who, having been archbishop of Dublin, was translated from that see to the bishopric of Oxford. Bancroft having entered at Christ's college, graduated at Cambridge in the year 1567, and became, though not a

fellow, a celebrated tutor of his college. After his ordination he was appointed chaplain to Dr Richard Cox bishop of Ely, who, in 1575, gave him the rectory of Feversham, in Cambridgeshire, where he learned the duties of a parish priest. In 1580 he took his doctor's degree, and in 1584 he was made rector of St Andrew's, Holborn. He had been, for some time previous, chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift. Thus was this excellent man trained gradually for the high office he was destined afterwards to hold, and he learned, in inferior stations, to understand the duties of the working clergy whom he was called upon, when a bishop, to direct. It was while he was chaplain to archbishop Whitgift that, in 1587, he gave proof of his determination and zeal by a celebrated sermon which he preached at St Paul's Cross, in order to warn the parliament of the conduct and designs of the puritans, who were at this time extremely violent in their language and proceedings. Of this sermon the following analysis is given by Collier :

“ His text was : Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit ; but try the spirits, whether they be of God ; for many false prophets are gone out into the world : 1 John iv. 1. In prosecuting this text, he gave a strong image of the puritans, and painted them in glowing colours. He set forth their intemperate language against bishops, described their ambition, and such other indirect motives, that pushed them to mutiny and public disturbance. Among other things, he charges the party with covetousness ; he laments that filthy lucre was frequently made the pretence of reformation ; and that the prospect many persons had of plundering bishoprics, seizing the endowments of cathedrals, and scrambling for the remainder of the church revenues, was the principal cause of nonconformity and schism in this church. He adds, that had not clear evidence drove him to this censure, he should have forborn the imputation. To explain himself farther upon this head, he divides the nonconformists into clergy and laity, and considers their pretensions apart. Their

clergy make a warm demand of all the livings settled upon the established church. These estates, they pretend, ought to be conveyed to their presbyteries. And, for fear of being underfurnished, they put in a claim to the abbey-lands. To this purpose, in a petition to the parliament exhibited in the name of the commonality, they lay it down for a maxim in divinity, that things once dedicated to religious uses, are unalienable from their original intendment: when they are thus enclosed by vows, and solemn conveyance, they ought never to be thrown open to the world. The lay-nonconformists were of a quite different sentiment, and ran boldly to a scandalous extreme. For this he quotes a pamphlet, called, "An Admonition to the people of England." Our preachers, say these lay-puritans, ought to live by the example of Christ and His apostles. Now no one was more unprovided with conveniences than their master: He had no place where to lay His head: Luke ix. And as for the apostles, their predecessors, silver and gold they had none: Acts iii. Now why should these men, whose industry and merit are less, be better accommodated? Why should those, who are so much inferior to the apostles in their qualifications, exceed them in figure and preferment? There is no coarseness in eating or dress, which men of their profession ought to repine at. Alas! their dignities and promotions do but hinder them in their business, and disserve their character. And, to turn these men's artillery upon themselves, and ruin them by their own reasoning, he borrows some of the principles of the German Anabaptists. And here he directs his discourse to the poorer sort of the audience in this manner: 'My brethren,' says he, 'these gentlemen of the laity use you extremely ill. The children of God, you know, are heirs of the world: The earth is the Lord's, and the saints are to inherit it. The wicked therefore do but usurp the blessings of Providence, and hold their estates by a wrong title. You have an equal share with those of the best distinction in the kingdom of heaven: why then will you suffer your-



selves to be thrown out of your property upon earth, and acquiesce under so unequal a distribution? In the apostles' times, the faithful had all things common. Then those who had estates sold them, and laid the purchase money at the apostles' feet, and every one had his share in proportion to his necessity. And since the Christian religion is still the same, why is the usage so very different? But, alas! so it is; you are but little better than beasts of burthen to the wealthier sort. Your landlords make no scruple to rack your rents, to grind your faces, and exhaust your bodies. And to what end is all this oppression in liberty and livelihood? It is to maintain an unnecessary equipage, to humour their pride, and feed their luxury: it is to supply their pockets for gaming, and furnish their diversions of hawking and hunting. And are these warrantable motives to keep the greatest part of the world low and uneasy? To make them wear out their lives in labour and poverty? Why don't you push for redress of these grievances, and revive the practice of the apostles' times? To attempt something of this kind would be charity to your wealthy neighbours, no less than yourselves. For these bulky estates of theirs do but pamper their pride, abate their zeal, and check their progress in virtue. Indeed, unless you make them primitive Christians in their fortunes, they will never be so in their lives: unless you reduce them to evangelical poverty, and rescue them from their riches, they must be undone.' Dr Bancroft here puts the question to the wealthier part of the audience, how they like this doctrine? And, if they are unwilling to have it practised upon themselves, they should take care not to urge it against the clergy. Thus much for covetousness. To make the text bear upon the dissenters in other respects, he shews on what a weak foundation they erected their discipline: that there were no traces of this scheme from the apostles' time down to Calvin: that the parity these men are so earnest to bring into the Church, was made a mark of infamy in the Aërian heretics. Farther, he represented the great

danger, which must inevitably follow, if private men should contest the constitutions of the Church, and presume to overrule that which had been settled by so considerable an authority. And, as to their complaint of the rigour of forcing them upon subscription of articles, he endeavours to justify this imposition by the precedent of Geneva, and some other reformed churches in Germany. The doctor proceeds to insist upon the excellency and unexceptionableness of the Common Prayer Book ; shews what commendation had been given it by foreign divines ; how it was approved by Bucer, Alesius, and Fox, and by the parliaments and convocations of this realm : how archbishop Cranmer had defended it against the papists, and bishop Ridley against Knox, and others. And here he argues from the absurdity of extemporary prayers, and how often such unpremeditated devotions slide into indecency and irreverence. Next, he maintains the superiority of bishops over presbyters, argues for the civil supremacy, and alarms the audience with the danger they had reason to apprehend from the practice and principles of the disciplinarians. This sermon was managed with great learning and strength of argument, and in all likelihood made an impression. And of this the act of grace, at the breaking up of the parliament, seems something of a proof. For those, who did not come to church, hear divine service, and conform to the ecclesiastical establishment, were excepted from the benefit of this act."

In 1597, Bancroft was consecrated bishop of London, to which see he was appointed, not without great opposition, through the influence of archbishop Whitgift, who, feeling the infirmities of old age coming upon him, desired to have in the bishop of London an adviser and friend upon whom he could confidently rely. The enemies of Bancroft adopted the usual course of the puritans and other wicked persons against their opponents, and although they must have known that they were uttering a falsehood, they described him as popishly affected : in consequence of

this the following character of Dr Bancroft was sent by the archbishop to the court :

“That his conversation had been without blame in the world, having never been complained of, detected, or, for ought he knew, suspected of any extraordinary enormity. That he had taken all the degrees in school, as other men had done, and with equal credit. He had been a preacher against popery above twenty-four years, and was certainly no papist. Indeed he was not of the presbyterial faction. That since he had professed divinity, he had ever opposed himself against all sects and innovations. That by the appointment of archbishop Grindal he once visited the diocese of Peterborough. That about twelve years since he was likewise a visitor of the diocese of Ely. That he was sent from Cambridge to preach at Bury, when the pretended reformation was begun there, without staying for the magistrate, as the term then was ; and when the sheriff could hardly get any preacher in that country that either would or durst oppose themselves against it. At his being at Bury he detected to the judges the writing of a poesy written about her majesty’s arms, taken out of the Apocalypse, but applied to her highness most falsely and seditiously. It had been set up a quarter of a year in a most public place without controlment. I note [saith the writer] these two last points, partly for the effects that follow of them, and because he was greatly maligned by no mean persons for doing his duty in both.

“He remained with the late lord chancellor twelve years at the least in her majesty’s court ; and was in good reputation with him, and often employed in sundry matters of greater importance for her highness’ service. That since his said lordship’s death, he had remained with the like credit five years almost with the lord archbishop of Canterbury. That he had been of her majesty’s commission general for causes ecclesiastical throughout England almost twelve years. In which time there had been few causes of any importance dealt in, either at Lambeth or London, wherein he had not been an assistant.



“That he was by his diligent search the first detector of Martin Marprelate’s press and books: where and by whom they were printed, &c. He was a special man that gave the instructions to her majesty’s learned council, when Martin’s agents were brought into the star-chamber. By his advice that course was taken, which did principally stop Martin’s and his fellows’ mouths; viz. to have them answered after their own vain writings. That by his diligence to find out certain letters and writings, Mr Cartwright and his complices, their setting up of their discipline secretly in most shires of the realm, their classes, their decrees, and books of discipline, were first detected. The chief instructions were had from him, whereby her majesty’s learned council framed their bill and answers against Mr Cartwright and the rest in the star-chamber. By his letter, written, at the commandment of the lord chancellor, to himself, her majesty was thoroughly informed of the state of the Church; how it then stood, and how far the said factious persons had impeached her highness’s authority and the government established.

“That by his only diligence Penry’s seditious writings were intercepted, as they came out of Scotland, and delivered to the now lord keeper. His earnest desire to have the slanderous libel against her majesty answered, and some pains of his taken therein, would not be omitted, because they shewed his true affection and dutiful heart unto her highness. That his sermon at Paul’s Cross, the first Sunday in the parliament, 1587, (being afterward printed by direction from the lord chancellor and lord treasurer,) was to special purpose, and did very much abate the edge of the faction. That the last parliament he did set out two books in defence of the state of the Church, and against the pretended holy discipline: which were likely and greatly commended by the learnedest men of the realm.

“That he had been a special man of his calling, that the lord archbishop of Canterbury had used for the space

of nine or ten years, in all the stirs which had been made by the factious against the good estate of the Church; which had procured him great dislike among those who were that way inclined. And that though he had been careful and earnest to suppress some sorts of sectaries yet had he therein shewed no tyrannous disposition; but with mildness and kind dealing, when it was expedient, had reclaimed divers. That while he had been occupied for fifteen or sixteen years, as had been expressed, seventeen or eighteen of his juniors (few or none of them being of his experience) had been preferred; eleven to deaneries, and the rest to bishoprics. Of which number, some had been formerly inclined to faction, and the most as neuters, or expected the issue; that so they might, as things should fall out, run with the time.

“That they that listed might enter into the consideration hereof particularly. That he had been long in speech for the bishopric of London. That his late good lordship [i.e. lord chancellor Hatton] told him the summer before he died, that her majesty was purposed to have removed bishop Elmer to Worcester, and have preferred him to London. That bishop Elmer offered thrice in two years to have resigned his bishopric unto him, upon certain conditions which he refused. That bishop Elmer signified the day before his death, how sorry he was that he had not written unto her majesty, and commended his late suit unto her highness, viz. to have made him his successor. And lastly, that since the death of the last bishop, no man had been so commonly named for that place as he; nor so generally thought to be more fit for it.”

The two treatises of Bancroft, to which allusion is made above, are the “Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline,” and “Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, published and practised within this island of Britain, under pretence of reformation and of the Presbyterian Discipline.” They both bear the same date in the title page, 1593, and both relate to the controversy concerning church order and discipline.

As bishop of London he was sent by queen Elizabeth in 1600 to Embden, to put an end to the difference between the English and Danes ; but the embassy had no effect. He likewise interposed in the disputes between the secular priests and the jesuits, and furnished some of the former with materials to write against their adversaries.

Bishop Bancroft was present at the death of queen Elizabeth, and was, as every true father and son of the church of England must have been, greatly alarmed at the aspect of affairs on the accession of James the first. The king had been educated in another religion, and it was supposed that he would have so interfered with ecclesiastical affairs as to have obliterated every vestige of the Church in the English establishment, and thus have compelled churchmen to join with the Romanists, however objectionable they may have considered many of their tenets. But earnest prayer to God was made for His poor afflicted Church in England, and the prayer was heard . for the heart of James, although it was incapable of entering into the depths of catholic doctrine, was turned towards the Church, and the Church found in him, if not always a dutiful son, at least a political defender. The warm feelings of Bancroft, in the joy of his heart at finding the inclinations of the king so different from what he had been led to expect, hurried him into some indiscretions, but he shared them with many other good men ; and a living king, when we know not to what he may be providentially led, is always regarded with feelings very different from those with which the historian proceeds to investigate his character.

On the accession of James all the discontented spirits endeavoured to influence his mind against the Church : various books and pamphlets were published, and more especially an address called, in the usual spirit of puritan prevarication, the Millenary Petition, a title intended to imply that it was signed by a thousand ministers of the church of England, although “there wanted some hun-



dreds to complete the number." The petition is interesting as shewing that the same objections against our church existed at that time, among ultra-protestants, as are found to exist in the present age. In this petition they desired, "that of the offences in the Church, some might be removed, some amended, and some qualified; namely, first, in the church service, the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants; confirmations, as superfluous, to be taken away: baptism not to be ministered by women; and so explained: the cap and surplice not urged: that examination might go before the communion: that it might be ministered with a sermon: that divers terms, viz. of priests, and absolution, and some other used, *with the ring in marriage*, and other such like in the book, might be corrected: the longsomeness of suits abridged: church songs and music moderated to better edification: that the Lord's day might not be profaned: *the rest upon holydays not so strictly urged*: that there might be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed: no popish opinions to be any more taught or defended: no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus: that the canonical Scriptures be only read in the church. Secondly, concerning ministers: that none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men; and those to preach diligently; and especially upon the Lord's day: and that such as were already entered, and could not preach, might either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relief; or else to be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers: that nonresidence be not permitted, &c. Thirdly, for church livings and maintenance: that bishops might have their commendams, some holding prebends, some parsonages, some vicarages with their bishoprics: double beneficed men not to be suffered to hold some two, some three benefices, with cure: and some two, three, or four dignities besides, &c. Fourthly, for church discipline: that the discipline and

excommunication might be administered, according to Christ's own institution; or at least, that enormities might be redressed; as namely, that excommunication come not forth under the name of lay-persons, chancellors, officials, &c."

They desired a conference. This the late queen would have wisely refused: but James had been so educated, that, instead of seeking instruction from the Church, he thought he might sit as her judge; and his vanity also prompted him to display his learning as a theologian before his new subjects. It is clear that his mind was fully made up, before the conference, to support the Church; but his granting a conference excited false hopes among the puritans, and groundless fears among the bishops and orthodox clergy. On the 14th of January, 1603-4, the conference was held at Hampton Court. We shall only notice here what relates to the conduct of bishop Bancroft on the occasion.

In the first day's conference, the king having desired the bishops to satisfy him in three things, namely, about confirmation, absolution, and private baptism, as practised in the church of England; bishop Bancroft seconded archbishop Whitgift in giving his majesty the satisfaction he required. With respect to confirmation, he alleged, that it had not only the practice of the primitive Church, and the testimony of the fathers, in its defence, but that it was likewise an apostolical institution, and a part of the doctrines expressly mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. vi. ver. 2. He added, that Calvin expounded that passage in this sense; and earnestly wished the custom might be revived in those churches which had suppressed it. As to the point of absolution, the archbishop having cleared the practice of the church of England from all abuse and superstition, and appealed for this to the confession and absolution in the beginning of the communion book; the bishop of London, stepping forward, told the king, that in the communion book there was another particular and personal form of absolution,

prescribed in the visitation of the sick ; adding withal, that not only the confessions of Augsburg, Bohemia, and Saxony retained it, but that Calvin approved such a general confession and absolution as is used in the church of England. The form being read, the king liked it extremely, and called it an apostolical ordinance. In regard to private baptism, the archbishop having endeavoured to satisfy his majesty, that the administration of baptism by women and lay-persons was not allowed by the church of England ; and the bishop of Worcester having allowed that the words of the office were ambiguous, and might be construed so as to permit such a practice ; the bishop of London, not satisfied with this discourse, replied, that the learned and reverend compilers of the Common-prayer had no intention to mislead the people by perplexed and double-meaning expressions, but really designed a permission to private persons for baptizing in cases of necessity ; and for this he appealed to their letters, some passages of which were read. He proceeded to prove, that this permission was agreeable to the practice of the primitive church ; and to this purpose he urged the text in the second of the Acts, where three thousand are said to have been baptized in one day ; alleging, that it was impossible, or at least improbable, that the apostles could administer that sacrament to such numbers in so short a time ; and that, in those early days of Christianity, there were no bishops or priests besides the apostles. He likewise cited the authorities of Tertullian and St Ambrose. And here he laid open the absurdity and impiety of supposing no necessity of baptism. In the second day's conference, the bishop of London, perceiving that the design of the presbyterians was entirely to overthrow the ecclesiastical constitution, humbly moved the king, first, that the ancient canon, *schismatici contra episcopos non sunt audiendi*, might be remembered : Secondly, that, if any of the agents for the Nonconformists had subscribed the communion-book, and yet exhibited a remonstrance against it, they might be set aside, pursuant to an ancient



council, in which it is decreed, that no man shall plead against his own act and subscription. But the king interposing, ordered the bishop to reply to the exceptions made by Dr Reynolds, one of the Nonconformist delegates. This gave the bishop occasion to declare his opinion; first, with respect to predestination: this proposition, ‘If I shall be saved, I shall be saved,’ he called a desperate doctrine. He alleged, that it was a contradiction to orthodox belief: that in the points of predestination, we should rather infer ascendendo than descendendo; that is, we should conclude our election from the regularity of our lives, rather than rest our happiness upon any absolute irrespective decree; and that if God has ordained us to happiness, no habits or degrees of wickedness can make us miscarry. From hence the bishop went on to acquaint his majesty with the doctrine of the church of England touching predestination. Secondly, Reynolds having objected the inconvenience of reserving confirmation to the bishop alone, it being impracticable for the diocesan to examine all who came to be confirmed; *as to the matter of fact*, Bancroft replied, that it was the custom of the bishops, in their visitations, to appoint either their chaplains, or some other ministers, to examine those who came to be confirmed; and that they seldom confirmed any, unless their qualifications were certified by their own parsons or curates: *to the opinion*, his answer was, that none of the fathers ever admitted any to confirm, under the order of bishops; and that even St Jerome (though otherwise no friend to the episcopal superiority) confesses the executing this function was solely lodged with the bishops; though with this qualifying expression, *ad honorem potius sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem*. However, this father owns, the bishops ought to have a power paramount to the rest of the clergy; and that, without this prerogative, the unity and well-being of the Church could not subsist. In this conference, Reynolds having moved for several alterations in doctrine and discipline, bishop Bancroft addressed the

king kneeling, and humbly desired, that since it was a time for moving petitions, he might have leave to put up two or three. First, he requested, that care might be taken for a praying clergy: for notwithstanding there are many serviceable branches in the sacerdotal function, *such as absolving penitents, praying for the people, pronouncing the blessing, and administering the sacraments, it is now, (said he) come to that pass, that some men conceive the duty of a parish priest is wholly confined to the pulpit; where, God knows, they sometimes manage with a very slender share either of learning or discretion; that preaching has such an ascendant in their fancy, that the celebrating divine service is scandalously neglected; that some ministers chose rather to walk in the church-yard until sermon time, than join in public prayer.* He confessed, that for missionaries in unconverted countries, where a church was planting, preaching was most necessary; but, where Christianity had been a long time settled, he thought pulpit harangues were not the only business of a pastor, and that this exercise ought not to be followed to the neglect of other parts of his office. This motion was highly approved by the king. The bishop's second request was, that, until men of learning and sufficiency might be procured for every congregation, godly homilies might be read, and their number increased; and that those men, who had decried these instructions, would retract their censures, and endeavour to bring them into credit. The bishop's reason for recommending the homilies was, because every clergyman that could pronounce well had not a talent of composing. Both the king and the agents thought this request very reasonable. The lord chancellor taking occasion here to argue against pluralities, and expressing his wishes, that some clergymen might have single coats before others had doublets, adding that himself had managed in this manner in bestowing the benefices in the king's gift; the bishop of London replied, I commend your honourable care that way; but a doublet is necessary in cold weather. The bishop of London's

last motion was, that pulpits might not be turned into batteries, and every malcontent allowed to play his spleen against his superiors from thence. The king received this complaint very graciously, and advised, in case of any misconduct in church officers, not to let fly personal reflections from the pulpit, but to appeal in the first place to the ordinary, then to the archbishop, from thence to the lords of the council; and if all these applications fell short of a remedy, then to bring the grievance before his majesty himself. The king chalked out this method, upon the bishop of London's suggesting, that in case he left himself open to receive all complaints at the first instance, neither his majesty would be quiet, nor his under officers regarded; for the criminal, when pressed with discipline, would immediately threaten the carrying his complaint before the king.

A convocation was summoned to meet in March, 1603-4, and archbishop Whitgift dying in the meantime, the bishop of London was appointed by the king's writ president. In the eleventh session the president delivered the prolocutor a book of canons, which passed both houses, and were afterward ratified by the king's letters patent. These canons, being a hundred and forty-one, were framed by Bancroft out of the articles, injunctions, and synodical acts, passed and published in the reigns of king Edward the sixth and queen Elizabeth. Together with those canons, which were adopted by our church and ratified by the state, before the reformation of our church, they form the laws of the church of England. As embodying the principles of the reformation, and as the work of Bancroft, a selection from them is here given, such as may be interesting to the modern reader:—

“Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the church of England, by law established under the king's majesty, is not a true and an apostolical church, teaching and maintaining the doctrine of the apostles; let him be excommunicated ipso facto, and not restored, but only by the archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of this his wicked error.



“Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the form of God’s worship in the church of England, established by law, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures; let him be excommunicated ipso facto, and not restored, but by the bishop of the place, or archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of such his wicked errors.

“Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the rites and ceremonies of the church of England by law established are wicked, anti-Christian, or superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority, men, who are zealously and godly affected, may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them; let him be excommunicated ipso facto, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke such his wicked errors.

“Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the apostles’ rules, in the church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, accounting the Christians, who are conformable to the doctrine, government, rites and ceremonies of the church of England, to be profane, and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession; let them be excommunicated ipso facto, and not restored, but by the archbishop, after their repentance, and public revocation of such their wicked errors.

“Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God’s worship in the church of England, prescribed in the Communion Book, and their adherents, may truly take unto them the name of another church not established by law, and dare presume to publish it, that this their pretended church hath of long time groaned under the burden of certain grievances imposed upon it, and upon the members thereof before mentioned, by the church of England, and the orders and constitutions therein by law

established; let them be excommunicated, and not restored until they repent, and publicly revoke such their wicked errors.

“ The common prayer shall be said or sung distinctly and reverently upon such days as are appointed to be kept holy by the Book of Common Prayer, and their eves, and at convenient and usual times of those days, and in such place of every church as the bishop of the diocese, or ecclesiastical ordinary of the place, shall think meet for the largeness or straitness of the same, so as the people may be most edified. All ministers likewise shall observe the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, as well in reading the holy Scriptures, and saying of prayers, as in administration of the sacraments, without either diminishing in regard of preaching, or in any other respect, or adding any thing in the matter or form thereof.

“ In the time of divine service, and of every part thereof, all due reverence is to be used; for it is according to the apostle's rule, Let all things be done decently and according to order; answerable to which decency and order, we judge these our directions following: No man shall cover his head in the church or chapel in the time of divine service, except he have some infirmity; in which case let him wear a nightcap or coif. All manner of persons then present shall reverently kneel upon their knees, when the general confession, litany, and other prayers are read; and shall stand up at the saying of the belief, according to the rules in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer: and likewise when in time of divine service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed; testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures, their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true and eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies,

graces, and promises of God to mankind, for this life, and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised. None either man, woman, or child, of what calling soever, shall be otherwise at such times busied in the church, than in quiet attendance to hear, mark, and understand that which is read, preached, or ministered; saying in their due places audibly with the minister, the confession, the Lord's prayer, and the creed, and making such other answers to the public prayers, as are appointed in the Book of Common Prayer: neither shall they disturb the service or sermon, by walking or talking, or any other way; nor depart out of the church during the time of service and sermon, without some urgent or reasonable cause.

“ In all cathedral and collegiate churches, the holy communion shall be administered upon principal feast-days, sometimes by the bishop, if he be present, and sometimes by the dean, and at some times by a canon or prebendary, the principal minister using a decent cope, and being assisted with the gospeller and epistler agreeably, according to the advertisements published anno 7 Eliz. The said communion to be administered at such times, and with such limitation, as is specified in the Book of Common Prayer. Provided, that no such limitation by any construction shall be allowed of, but that all deans, wardens, masters, or heads of cathedral and collegiate churches, prebendaries, canons, vicars, petty canons, singing men, and all others of the foundation, shall receive the communion four times yearly at the least.

“ We are sorry that his majesty's most princely care and pains taken in the conference at Hampton-Court, amongst many other points, touching this one of the cross in Baptism, hath taken no better effect with many, but that still the use of it in baptism is so greatly stuck at and impugned. For the further declaration therefore of the true use of this ceremony, and for the removing of all



such scruple, as might any ways trouble the consciences of them who are indeed rightly religious, following the royal steps of our most worthy king, because he therein followeth the rules of the scriptures, and the practice of the primitive church; we do commend to all the true members of the church of England these our directions and observations ensuing.

“ First, it is to be observed, that although the Jews and Ethnicks derided both the apostles and the rest of the Christians, for preaching and believing in Him who was crucified upon the cross; yet all, both apostles and Christians, were so far from being discouraged from their profession by the ignominy of the cross, as they rather rejoiced and triumphed in it. Yea, the Holy Ghost by the mouths of the apostles did honour the name of the cross (being hateful among the Jews) so far, that under it he comprehended not only Christ crucified, but the force, effects, and merits of His death and passion, with all the comforts, fruits, and promises, which we receive or expect thereby.

“ Secondly, the honour and dignity of the name of the cross begat a reverend estimation even in the apostles’ times (for ought that is known to the contrary) of the sign of the cross, which the Christians shortly after used in all their actions; thereby making an outward show and profession, even to the astonishment of the Jews, that they were not ashamed to acknowledge Him for their Lord and Saviour, who died for them upon the cross. And this sign they did not only use themselves with a kind of glory, when they met with any Jews, but signed therewith their children when they were christened, to dedicate them by that badge to His service, whose benefits bestowed upon them in baptism the name of the cross did represent. And this use of the sign of the cross in Baptism was held in the primitive church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent and great applause. At what time, if any had opposed themselves against it, they would certainly have been censured as enemies of the

name of the cross, and consequently of Christ's merits, the sign whereof they could no better endure. This continual and general use of the sign of the cross is evident by many testimonies of the ancient fathers.

“ Thirdly, it must be confessed, that in process of time the sign of the cross was greatly abused in the church of Rome, especially after that corruption of popery had once possessed it. But the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it. Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the church of England to forsake and reject the churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men ; and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the apostolical churches, which were their first founders. In which respect, amongst some other very ancient ceremonies, the sign of the cross in Baptism hath been retained in this church, both by the judgment and practice of those reverend fathers and great divines in the days of king Edward the Sixth, of whom some constantly suffered for the profession of the truth ; and others being exiled in the time of queen Mary, did, after their return, in the beginning of the reign of our late dread sovereign, continually defend and use the same. This resolution and practice of our church hath been allowed and approved by the censure upon the Communion book in king Edward the Sixth his days, and by the Harmony of Confessions of later years : because in deed the use of this sign in Baptism was ever accompanied here with such sufficient cautions and exceptions against all popish superstition and error, as in the like cases are either fit or convenient.

“ First, the church of England, since the abolishing of popery, hath ever held and taught, and so doth hold and

teach still, that the sign of the cross used in Baptism is no part of the substance of that sacrament: for when the minister, dipping the infant in water, or laying water upon the face of it, (as the manner also is,) hath pronounced these words, ‘I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,’ the infant is fully and perfectly baptized. So as the sign of the cross being afterwards used, doth neither add any thing to the virtue and perfection of Baptism, nor being omitted doth detract any thing from the effect and substance of it.

“Secondly, it is apparent in the communion book, that the infant baptized is, by virtue of Baptism, before it be signed with the sign of the cross, received into the congregation of Christ’s flock, as a perfect member thereof, and not by any power ascribed unto the sign of the cross. So that for the very remembrance of the cross, which is very precious to all them that rightly believe in Jesus Christ, and in the other respects mentioned, the church of England hath retained still the sign of it in Baptism: following therein the primitive and apostolical churches, and accounting it a lawful outward ceremony and honourable badge, whereby the infant is dedicated to the service of Him that died upon the cross, as by the words used in the Book of Common Prayer it may appear.

“Lastly, the use of the sign of the cross in Baptism, being thus purged from all popish superstition and error, and reduced in the church of England to the primary institution of it, upon those true rules of doctrine concerning things indifferent, which are consonant to the word of God, and the judgments of all the ancient fathers, we hold it the part of every private man, both minister and other, reverently to retain the true use of it prescribed by public authority; considering that things of themselves indifferent do in some sort alter their natures, when they are either commanded or forbidden by a lawful magistrate; and may not be omitted at every man’s pleasure, contrary



to the law, when they be commanded, nor used when they are prohibited.

“ Every parson, vicar, or curate, shall in his several charge declare to the people, every Sunday at the time appointed in the Communion book, whether there be any holydays or fasting-days the week following. And if any do hereafter wittingly offend herein, and being once admonished thereof by his ordinary, shall again omit that duty, let him be censured according to law, until he submit himself to the due performance of it.

“ Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ and by the king's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke that his wicked error.”

The Book of Common Prayer was revised and published in the year 1604; but here a violation of church principles was tolerated: the revisions were not submitted to convocation. The bishops made the alterations they thought desirable, and then the book was printed by the authority of the crown. We are not ourselves affected by this irregularity, as the Prayer Book underwent another revision, and was authorized by convocation in 1661. Among the alterations now made, in the rubric before the absolution the words “or remission of sins” were added; and in the rubric before *private Baptism*, the words *lawful minister* were inserted, to exclude lay-baptism. Our church, from the time of Augustine, had permitted any person in cases of necessity to baptize; but this was now prohibited. The questions and answers on the sacraments were appended to the catechism. Some alterations were made in the calendar. After the prayer for the king, another was added for the queen and royal family, and also a petition in the litany to the same effect. The particular thanksgivings were inserted at this time.

The see of Canterbury remained vacant nine months, and then bishop Bancroft was translated to it. Collier

observes, that "this prelate governed with great vigour, and pressed a strict conformity to the rubric and canons, without the least allowance for latitude and different persuasion." "The liturgy," he remarks, "was more solemnly officiated: the fasts and festivals were better observed; the use of copes was revived, the surplice generally worn, and all things in a manner *recovered to the first settlement under queen Elizebeth.*"

In 1605 the gunpowder plot occurred: on the day following, November 6, the convocation of Canterbury met, when Overall was chosen prolocutor of the lower house. A book was laid before the convocation by the archbishop, and both houses were desired to take it into consideration. This was the book published by archbishop Sancroft, in 1690, under the title of "Bishop Overall's Convocation Book, 1606, concerning the government of God's Catholic Church, and the kingdoms of the whole world." The book was drawn up in consequence of the gunpowder treason, and the principles then advocated by many Romanists respecting kings; it was designed as an exposition of the sense of the Anglican church on the subjects of which it treats. Though sanctioned by the Church, it was not confirmed by the king, who, disliking some of the sentiments contained in it, requested that it might not be presented to him for confirmation.

"There are," observes Mr Lathbury, "some important statements in this volume. The three creeds are affirmed as containing a summary of Christian truth; while the creed of pope Pius IV. is repudiated. Thus in the second book the following pointed passage occurs: 'In which *creeds*, containing the Catholic faith, in those days, or in any of the rest, we have thought it good here to remember, that there is not any one article to warrant or prove those new articles, which were coined long after the making of any of the said *creeds*, by the bishops of Rome, and are added to the Nicene creed, by Pius IV. in the professing of the Roman faith.' The eleventh chapter of the second book has this title: 'That there is no more neces-

sity of one visible head of the Catholic Church than of one visible monarch over all the world.' The chapter is a very important one. The following passages will be read with interest: 'It is certain and manifest, that as the Catholic Church is resembled in the Scriptures to an host well ordered, to a human body, to a kingdom, to a flock of sheep, to a house, and to a ship: so Christ only is intended thereby to be her only general, her only head, her only king, her only shepherd, her only householder, her only pilot. Neither can any other thing be enforced from the words mentioned of one faith, and one Baptism, but that as we are only justified through a lively faith in Christ, so there is but one Baptism ordained whereby we have our first entrance into his spiritual kingdom, and are made particular members of his Catholic Church.' The last book comprehends a sketch of the papal usurpations until the power of the pope was fully established. In short, the whole volume is full of interest, and especially at the present time, when the faith of some of the members of our Anglican church is perverted by Romish sophistry."

This book was the great business of the convocation during the year 1606. Other matters, indeed, were discussed, but nothing else was formally concluded. The convocation was continued by various prorogations until February, 1609. At this time it was assembled, and Crashaw, a clergyman, was convened before the upper house for the publication of an erroneous book. He was dismissed upon his retractation. In May, 1610, a conference took place between the two houses respecting pluralities and the value of benefices. During the same year, both convocation and parliament were dissolved. In the province of York, the grant of the usual subsidy was the only business transacted during several years.

The primacy of archbishop Bancroft is further distinguished for the commencement of that which is now the authorized version of Scripture. The king's letters



for a new translation of the Bible were, indeed, addressed to him while he was yet bishop of London. His predecessor, archbishop Whitgift, as well as himself, had some doubts as to the expediency of a new translation, lest it should seem to cast a slur upon the version at that time authorized, and known as the Bishop's Bible. It was feared lest an occasion might by these means be given to the enemies of the Church, especially the Romanists, to throw discredit on the English Bible, and on the doctrines built upon it; especially if such persons were employed who were likely pedantically to affect many alterations and various readings. It was wisely ordered, therefore, that the first rule to be observed in translating should be that "the ordinary Bible, read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original would permit." It was also determined, that "when any word had several significations, that which had been commonly used by the most celebrated fathers, should be preferred; provided it were agreeable to the context and the analogy of faith."

In this work fifty-four learned men were employed; and the king directed that provision should be made for them out of the revenues of the Church: he required all the bishops to reserve their "next preferments that were £20 per annum in the king's books for them, according as he should think fit to dispose of them, and to whom." And the king declining to be at any expense, privately required Bancroft to call upon the bishops and deans and chapters, to subscribe for the payment of the necessary expenses. At the expense of the church of England, and by the labor of churchmen, what is called our authorized version was completed. And so well was the work performed, being in fact a very improved edition of the Bishops' Bible, that it has been adopted by many sects and parties not in communion with the church of England. By the Romanists and Socinians our version is rejected as not being correct; but the presbyterian establishment in Scotland uses none other, and the greater number of dissenting communions

in England have adopted it. Learned men have for the most part agreed in its general accuracy, and perhaps it would be impossible to have a translation, as a whole, more satisfactory. Of course no person can really take his religion from the Bible and the Bible only, who does not read the Bible in the original languages; but for the purposes of edification, to those who are trained by the Church, this version is found to be sufficient, and it is both an honour and a blessing to the church of England to possess it.

Archbishop Bancroft was engaged during the year 1606, in a fruitless attempt to ensure to the ecclesiastical courts the right of interpreting all the statute laws concerning the clergy. In the Easter term of that year, it was resolved by all the judges of England, that "the interpretation of all statutes concerning the clergy, being parcel of the laws of the realm, do belong to the judges of common law." The archbishop, in controverting this position, appears to have obtained a promise of support from the king in the November following, but although he brought forward the subject again in 1608, the opposition of the judges was so strong, that the king was unable to protect him.

Archbishop Bancroft, on the death of the earl of Dorset, in 1608, was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford; and died at Lambeth, in 1610.

Of archbishop Bancroft, lord Clarendon's remark is, "that he was a metropolitan, who understood the church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Nonconformists, by and after the conference at Hampton Court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, he would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva, and would easily have kept out that infection, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled."

Let us now hear what is said of him by one whose affection to the order of bishops was never considered great : ‘He came to all his preferments very clearly, without prejudice or spoil of his churches ; that by means of the lord chancellor Hatton, whose chaplain he was, queen Elizabeth came to take knowledge of his wisdom and sufficiency ; especially from his writings against the Genevising and Scotising ministers, of which king James also had heard, so as he became a favourite to both those princes and to the state. The seditious sectaries maligned him in libels and rhymes, laying on him the imputation of papistry, for which some were punished in the star-chamber ; but he was so far from being popishly affected, that it may be truly affirmed, the greatest blow which the Papists received in all queen Elizabeth’s time came from his hand, or at least from his head : for he, having wisely observed the emulation between the secular priests and jesuits, found means to set them one against another : Watson against Parsons : so he divided their languages as scarcely they can understand one another yet. In the disputations at Hampton court, king James found him both learned and stout, and took such a liking of him, that, passing by the bishops of Winchester, [Bilson] and Durham [Matthew,] both men of eminent learning and merits, he made choice of bishop Bancroft for the filling up the then vacant see of Canterbury, as a man more exercised in affairs of state. To conclude with that which the truth, rather than kindness forceth me to say, no bishop has been more vigilant in looking to his charge.”—*Le Neve. Strype. Collier. Cardwell’s Conferences and Synodalia. Lathbury’s Hist. of Convocations. Rapin.*

BANCROFT, JOHN, nephew to the archbishop, was born at Eastwell, a village between Witney and Barford, in Oxfordshire, and was admitted a student of Christ-church in 1592. After his ordination he officiated as a minister for some time in and about Oxford. He was then made master of university college, Oxford, through the influence



of his uncle, the archbishop, which office he held for twenty years. In 1632 he was made bishop of Oxford. Like his uncle, Dr Richard Bancroft, he was a strong opponent of the puritans, and when, in 1640, it had become evident that that party were in the way to gain a great ascendancy, and the parliament began to take measures to overthrow the Church, Bancroft became so strongly possessed with apprehensions of what might be the consequence, that, with little or no sickness, he expired at his lodgings at Westminster. The date of his death is February 12, 1640-1.

He was styled by the puritans a "corrupt and popish prelate;" but left behind him proof of his beneficence, by having erected at his own expense a palace for the bishops of Oxford, at Cuddesden. He built this house on the persuasion of archbishop Laud.—*Wood. Biog. Brit.*

BAR, ALEXANDER, bishop of Moray, in Scotland, styled "decretorum doctor et licentiatius in legibus," was consecrated at Avignon in 1362 by pope Urban V. He was bishop in the years 1362, 3, 4, 5, 9, the first and tenth years of the reign of Robert II. He was greatly persecuted by the notorious "Wolf of Badenock," Alexander, earl of Buchan, youngest son of Robert II by Elizabeth More, who burnt the cathedral and the city of Elgin, a hospital called Domus Dei de Elgin, and eighteen manses of the canons and chaplains. For this he was excommunicated, nor was he granted absolution until he had made satisfaction to the see of Moray. Bishop Bar died on the 15th of May, 1397, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral.—*Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, by Russell.*

BARBIER, LOUIS, commonly called the Abbé de la Rivière, was the son of a tailor of Etampes. He was a contemptible person, but by secret services rendered to cardinal Mazarin, he obtained from that minister, in 1665, the bishopric of Langres. He is mentioned here

because it is said that he was the first prelate who ever wore a wig. He died in 1670.—*Biog. Univ.*

BARCLAY, or BERCLEY, ALEXANDER, a writer of the 16th century, is supposed by Mackenzie to have been a native of Scotland, though it is far more probable that he was of the family of Berkeley in Gloucestershire. He was educated at Oriel college, Oxford, after which he travelled into Germany, Italy, and France. On his return he became one of the priests of the monastery of St Mary Ottery, in Devonshire, and next a monk of Ely. In 1546 he was presented to the living of Baddow Magna, in Essex, and, in 1552, to that of Allhallows, Lombard-street; but died a few weeks after his induction, and was buried in the church at Croydon. His works are—1. A ryght frutefull treatyse, intituled, The Myrrour of good maners; conteynyng the four vertues called cardynall; compyled in Latyn by Domynike Mancyn, and translated into Englyshe at the desyre of sir Gyles Alyngton, kt. by Alexander Berceley, priest and monke of Ely. Imprynted by Rychard Pynson, and at the instance and request of the ryght hble. Rychard Yerle of Kent; folio, but without date. In the title page is a wooden print, representing the translator, Berceley, presenting the book on his knees to his patron, sir Giles Alington, sitting in a chair. 2. Sallust translated into English, by sir Alexander Barclay, priest, at commandment of the right high and mighty prince, Thomas duke of Norfolk. Imprinted by Richard Pynson, without date. 3. The Castle of Labour, wherein is riches, virtue, and honour, translated from the French, and printed by Wynken de Worde, 1506. 4. The Ship of Follys, or Ship of Fools, printed by Pynson, 1509; and again by Cawood in 1570. 5. Here beginneth the Egloges of Alexander Barclay, priest, whereof the first three containeth the miseries of courtiers and cortes: printed by John Herford, 4to.—*Biog. Brit.* *Wharton's Hist. of English Poetry.*

BARCLAY, ROBERT, a celebrated writer among the quakers, was born at Gordonstown, in the shire of Moray, in Scotland, in 1648. His father, colonel David Barclay, sent him, when young, to Paris, under the care of his uncle, the principal of the Scotch college, who brought him up in the Romish religion. The colonel hearing of the perversion, took his son home when he was sixteen, and, turning quaker himself, prevailed on Robert to do the same. In 1670 he published a tract in defence of the sect to which he had attached himself, entitled "Truth cleared of Calumnies;" and, in another printed in 1672, he says that, in obedience to the divine command, he had passed through Aberdeen, clad in sackcloth, and covered with ashes, preaching faith and repentance to the inhabitants. In 1675 appeared his "Catechism and Confession of Faith;" which was followed by a pamphlet against the Ranters, and other libertines. In 1676 he published in Latin, at Amsterdam, his famous Apology for the Quakers, an English translation of which appeared in 1678, with a remarkable dedication to Charles II. Besides these works, he wrote a treatise on universal love; a defence of his book against the Ranters; and a tract on the necessity of immediate revelation. Mr Barclay had some public disputations with members of the university of Aberdeen; and he travelled through a great part of England, Holland, and Germany, in company with William Penn, for the purpose of propagating quakerism. He died at the family seat of Uri, in 1690, leaving seven children, who were all living fifty years after the death of their father.—*A short account of the life and writings of Robert Barclay; 8vo. London, 1802.*

BARKHAM, JOHN, was born at Exeter, about 1572. He received his education at Oxford, first in Exeter college, and next in Corpus-Christi college, where he took his degrees in arts, and became fellow. In 1603 he took his degree of B. D. and was appointed chaplain to archbishop Bancroft, in which office he was continued



by Abbot, Bancroft's successor in the see of Canterbury. After obtaining different preferments, he became dean of Bocking, and in 1615 took his doctor's degree. He died in 1642, and was buried in the church of Bocking. Dr Barkham wrote the lives of king John, and Henry II. in Speed's history of Great Britain; and he was the sole author of the Display of Heraldry, which goes under the name of John Guillim. He likewise edited Crakanthorp's book against Spalato de Dominis, entitled "Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," 1625, 4to. The dean was a great collector of coins and medals, which he gave to archbishop Laud, by whom they were bestowed upon the university of Oxford.—Prince's *Worthies of Devon*. Fuller's *Worthies*.

BARLOW, WILLIAM, was born in Essex, and was educated at Oxford, in the 16th century; he was a canon regular of the order of St Augustine, becoming prior of the canons of his order at Bisham in Berkshire in 1535; in which year he was sent by Henry VIII on an embassy to Scotland. By Henry the VIIIth he was employed in the matter of his divorce, and he favoured that despotic reformer in his spoliation of the Church: he not only surrendered his own house without reluctance, but is said to have exerted himself to prevail upon the heads of other houses to do the same. His sacrifice, however, was nothing; for he merely exchanged his presidency over the canons of Bisham for the bishopric of St Asaph, to which he was promoted immediately, his consecration taking place on Nov. 22, 1535. Nor did he remain long there, for he was translated in the next year to the see of St David's. He seems to have been prepared at this time to go great lengths. The people in his diocese were much excited, and accused their bishop of innovating in religion, a dread of innovating being a sound catholic principle; and bishop Barlow was informed against for delivering the following passages in a sermon:

"*Imprimis*. He affirmed and said, that wheresoever two or three simple persons, as two coblers or weavers, were in

company, and elected in the name of God, that there was the true Church of God.

“*Item.* That it is not expedient for man to confess himself, but only unto God, for he will at all times accept and take any penitent man or woman to his mercy, if he cannot expediently have a priest.

“*Item.* That there neither is, nor was any purgatory ; but it is only a thing invented and imagined by the bishop of Rome, and our priests to have trentals and other mundane lucre thereby.

“*Item.* That if the king's grace, being supreme head of the church of England, did chuse, denominate, and elect any layman (being learned) to be a bishop ; that he, so chosen, (without mention made of any orders) should be as good a bishop as he is, or the best in England.

“ One Talley preached before the bishop of St David's this doctrine amongst other things ; viz : ‘That in times past, there was none that did preach or declare the word of God truly, nor the truth was never known till now of late.’

“ These articles were exhibited to the right reverend father in God the lord president of the king's council in the Marches of Wales, by one Roger Lewis, bachelor of law.”

Barlow did not remain long at St David's, being translated in 1547 to the bishopric of Bath and Wells.

He was bound by vows of celibacy, but he found it inconvenient to observe them : assuming the power of absolving himself from his oath, he married Agatha Wellesbourn, and, in consequence, on the accession of queen Mary, he was deprived, with the rest of the married bishops. He left England, and lived in Germany during the greater part of the reign of Mary. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned, but though his successor in the bishopric of Bath and Wells was deprived, he was not restored to the see he had left, but was made bishop of Chichester. This was in 1559. He continued in this see till his death, which happened in

August, 1568. He had a numerous family, and it has often been noticed as a remarkable circumstance that his five daughters all became the wives of bishops, viz: Anne, of Herbert Westphaling, bishop of Hereford; Elizabeth, of William Day, bishop of Winchester; Margaret, of William Overton, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; Frances, Toby Matthew, archbishop of York; and Antonina, of William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester.—*Godwin. Wood. Collier.*

BARLOW, WILLIAM, son of the bishop whose life has been given in the preceding article, was born in Pembrokeshire. In 1560 he entered at Baliol college, Oxford, but on taking his B.A. degree, in 1564, he went to sea, and acquired considerable knowledge of navigation. About 1573 he entered into orders, and became successively prebendary of Winchester and Lichfield, treasurer of the last-mentioned church, and archdeacon of Salisbury. He died in 1625. He was the first who wrote on the properties of the loadstone; and to him science is indebted for the method of making compasses. He also discovered the difference between iron and steel for magnetic uses, the proper way of touching magnetic needles, and of cementing loadstones. His works are,—1. *The Navigator's Supply*, 1597, 4to. 2. *Magnetical Advertisement, or Observations concerning the Nature and Properties of the Loadstone*, 1616, 4to. 3. *A brief Discovery of the idle Animadversions of Mark Ridley, M.D. upon a treatise entitled Magnetical Advertisement*, 4to, 1618. In the first of these books he gave a demonstration of Mercator's division of the meridian line, and a description of the azimuth compass.—Hutton's *Mathematical Dictionary*.

BARLOW, THOMAS, was born in the parish of Orton, in Westmoreland, in 1607, and was educated at the free school of Appleby: thence he removed to Queen's college, Oxford, of which college he became a fellow in 1633. In



1635 he was appointed reader in metaphysics; and the lectures which he delivered in that office he published two years afterwards. He was a decided calvinist, but so compliant in his principles that, under all the changes of the eventful period in which he lived, he obtained the countenance and patronage of the ruling powers. In 1652 he was elected keeper of the Bodleian library; and in 1657 became provost of his college. Thus prosperous under the rebellion, he was equally prosperous at the restoration. He then procured himself to be appointed one of the commissioners for restoring the members who were wrongfully ejected in 1648. In 1660 he was not only created D.D. among the royalists, but was also chosen Margaret professor of Divinity. While he was Margaret professor, the "*Harmonia Apostolica*" of the celebrated Mr Bull, afterwards bishop of St. David's, was published. This is one of the standard works of divinity in the church; but Barlow, among others, attacked it, and this too, in his lectures before the university. The Margaret professor is said "to have treated Mr Bull very roughly, even so far as to give him opprobrious names." This treatment, on the part of the Margaret professor, brought Mr Bull to Oxford, who, with his friend Mr Thomas, waited upon the professor, "told him with what inhumanity he had treated him, and offered to clear himself from the imputations cast upon him by a public disputation:" but this the less learned professor declined; and Bull complained of the injustice by which he was pronounced to be a heretic and even a heresiarch, ex-cathedra by a Margaret professor, who, nevertheless, would not afford him an opportunity of vindicating himself. The Margaret professor excused himself as well as he could for what he had done, and endeavoured to avoid owning the fact; but Mr Thomas offered not only to prove it to his face, but to produce the notes he had taken when the lectures were delivered. Barlow had now no more to say; but he did not venture to defame Bull again. Calvinistic theology and morals were at that time prevalent in Oxford.

When nearly seventy years of age Barlow was nominated to the see of Lincoln, notwithstanding the opposition of archbishop Sheldon to the appointment: as he obtained the nomination the very day on which the former bishop, Dr Fuller, died, through the interest of the two secretaries of state, we perceive that the aged professor had not lost the energy of his mind, or the precaution by which he was distinguished through life. The bishop's calvinism induced him to write strongly against popery; nevertheless, on the accession of king James II, he took all opportunities to express his affection for that monarch, and his entire submission to him: he actually sent up an address to him of thanks for his *first* declaration of liberty of conscience, and persuaded six hundred of his clergy to do the same: he wrote reasons for reading the king's *second* declaration of liberty of conscience; he caused it to be read in his diocese, and was even prevailed upon to assert and vindicate the royal power to dispense with penal laws, in an elaborate tract. And yet, after the revolution, bishop Barlow was one of those bishops who voted that king James had abdicated his kingdom, and no bishop was more ready than he to fill the places of those conscientious clergymen, who refused to take the oaths to William and Mary.

Although Barlow was made a bishop late in life, he seems to have been able to take a share in the business of the house of lords, for in the debate which ensued, when the bill for obliging all members and all who might come into the king's court or presence, to take a test against popery, Barlow was selected to answer Dr Jening, bishop of Ely, who maintained that the church of Rome was not idolatrous.

He did not himself entertain any high notions of the responsibility of the episcopal office; for he is remarkable for never appearing in his cathedral, or visiting his diocese. He resided constantly at his manor of Buckden. His rigid calvinism seems to have narrowed his mind generally, and made him insensible to the claims of duty.

To the Royal Society, lately established, he was much opposed, and indeed to what he called in general the new philosophy. He died at his palace at Buckden, October 8th, 1691. He left to the Bodleian library all such books in his collection as were not already in that repository, and the remainder to Queen's college,

His published writings are many. They are chiefly in theology, and especially controversial or casuistical, in which latter department of theology he was supposed greatly to excel. A list of them may be found in the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, and the *Biographia Britannica*.—*Wood. Kennett. Nelson's Life of Bull.*

BARNARD, JOHN, an English divine, was born in Lincolnshire, and educated first at Cambridge, and next at Oxford, where he became fellow of Lincoln college. At the restoration he was made prebendary of Lincoln, and in 1669 took his degree of D.D. He died in 1683. He wrote the life of Dr Heylin, and some other pieces.—*Biog. Brit.*

BARNES, ROBERT. This victim of the caprice and tyranny of Henry VIII first came into notice as a preacher at Cambridge, against the luxury of the prelates of our venerable establishment. He cast severe reflections especially on the port and equipage of cardinal Wolsey. The cardinal told him that by a person in his station, not only a bishop of the church, but a minister of the crown and also a cardinal in the church of Rome, (for at that time a bishop of our church could also be a cardinal in the Roman church, the two churches being in close alliance,) state and magnificence could not be dispensed with; that it was necessary for him to support his character and the reputation of the government. Barnes was not convinced, and was unwilling to retract. But Gardiner, who was the cardinal's secretary, and Fox, afterwards bishop of Winchester, being his friends, prevailed upon him at length to give satisfaction and abjure certain opinions



which he was alleged to maintain. The reforming party was now beginning to take its rise in our church, and to that party Barnes attached himself. His vehemence was such that he found himself to be in danger, and by counterfeiting himself a lunatic, he escaped into Germany. Here he formed an acquaintance with Luther, Melancthon, and other protestants, and was patronized by the duke of Saxony and the king of Denmark.

In such a position he was found by Fox, bishop of Hereford, when that prelate was at Swahald, in 1536, and by him he was sent back to England; when, the reforming party being now in favour at court, he was graciously received by the king, and used as one of his tools by Cromwell. Through him the correspondence between the English court and the Germans was kept up; and to the courts of the German princes he was sent on several occasions. In short, as an agent of Cromwell, he was a rising and prosperous man, when, being implicated in the project for the king's marriage with Ann of Cleves, he was involved in his master's disgrace.

The royal favour being withdrawn from him, he could not extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was involved by his own indiscretion. Having been appointed by Boner, bishop of London, to preach at St Paul's Cross, he took the same text as bishop Gardiner had selected for a sermon in the same place a short time before, and delivered from it a doctrine directly opposed to that which had been asserted by the bishop; and not only so, he descended also to personalities, punning upon the bishop's name, as a gardener "setting ill plants in a garden." Gardiner treated the sermon with contempt; but his friends complained to the king, and their conservative feelings were aroused at the insolence exhibited towards the bishop of Winchester, one of the constituted authorities of the Church, and a privy councillor. Barnes was reprimanded, and the king himself thought fit to argue with him, when, such was the power of royal logic, that Dr Barnes was prevailed upon to sign the following document, containing a recantation :

“ Be it known to all men, that I, Robert Barnes, doctor of divinity, have as well in writing, as in preaching, overshoot myself, and been deceived, by trusting too much to mine own heady sentence, and giving judgment in and touching the articles hereafter ensuing; whereas, being convented, and called before the person of my most gracious sovereign lord, king Henry the VIIIth, of England and of France, defensor of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head immediately under God, of the church of England; it pleased his highness, of his great clemency and goodness, being assisted with sundry of his most discreet and learned clergy, to enter such disputation and argument with me, upon the points of my over-sight, as by the same was fully and perfectly confuted by Scriptures, and enforced only for truth’s sake, and for want of defence of Scriptures to serve for the maintenance of my part, to yield, confess, and knowledge my ignorance, and with my most humble submission, do promise for ever from henceforth to abstain and beware of such rashness: and for my further declaration therein, not only to abide such order for my doings passed, as his grace shall appoint and assign unto me, but also with my heart to advance and set forth the said articles ensuing, which I knowledge and confess to be most catholic, and Christian, and necessary to be received, observed, and followed of all good Christian people. Though it so be that Christ, by the will of His Father, is He only which hath suffered passion and death for redemption of all such as will and shall come unto Him, by perfect faith and baptism; and that also He hath taken upon Him gratis the burden of all their sins, which as afore will, hath, or shall come to Him, paying sufficient ransom for all their sins, and so is become their only Redeemer and Justifier; of the which number I trust and doubt not but that many of us now-a-days be of: yet I in heart do confess, that after, by the foresaid means, we become right Christian folks, yet then by not following our master’s commandments and laws, we do lose the benefits and fruition of the same, which in

this case is irrecuperable, but by true penance, the only remedy left unto us by our Saviour for the same ; wherefore I think it more than convenient and necessary, that whensoever justification shall be preached of, that this deed be joined with all the fore part, to the intent that it may teach all true Christian people a right knowledge of their justification.

“ Also, I confess with my heart, that Almighty God is in no wise author, causer of sin, or any evil ; and therefore whereas Scripture saith, *Induravit Dominus cor Pharaonis, &c.* and such other texts of like sense, they ought to understand them, *quod Dominus permisit eum indurari* and not otherwise ; which doth accord with many of the ancient interpreters also.

“ Further I do confess with my heart, that whensoever I have offended my neighbour, I must first reconcile myself unto him, ere I shall get remission of my sins, and in case he offend me, I must forgive him, ere that I can be forgiven ; for this doth the Pater Noster, and other places of Scripture teach me.

“ I do also confess with my heart, that good works limited by Scripture, and done by a penitent and true reconciled Christian man, be profitable and allowable unto him, as allowed of God for his benefit, and helping to his salvation.

“ I also do confess with my heart, that laws and ordinances made by Christian rulers, ought to be obeyed by their inferiors and subjects, not only for fear, but also for conscience, for whoso breaketh them, breaketh God’s commandments.

“ All and singular the which articles before written, I, the aforesaid Robert Barnes, do approve and confess to be most true and catholic, and promise with my heart, by God’s grace, hereafter to maintain, preach, and set forth the same to the people, to the uttermost of my power, wit, and cunning.”

Bishop Burnet thinks it improbable that Barnes at any time held all those errors he is here made to re-



nounce, but attributes his having asserted them to his "having brought much of Luther's heat over with him." There were other points of difference between the bishop of Winchester and Dr Barnes, but it seems that the king regarded these as things indifferent, not bearing upon any article of the faith, and he left the bishop and his assailant to agree upon these points as best they might. Barnes had maintained, that "although God requires us to forgive our neighbour, as a condition of forgiveness from Him, yet God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else it would be sinful to forgive our neighbour, for St Paul tells us, "whatsoever is not of faith, is sin;" upon this Collier remarks, "by this foreign and uncatholic construction of the text, it appears Dr Barnes was none of the greatest divines." The controversy ended with the submission of Barnes, to whom Gardiner extended his patronage. Dr Barnes asked the bishop's pardon, which was frankly extended to him; the bishop entertained him as a companion, and offered him a pension of forty pounds a year. Barnes accordingly went to the bishop's house. The name of Gardiner is so justly odious, as one of the most cruel bishops that ever disgraced the church of England, that one is happy to record any thing in his favour, and in this controversy, he was certainly more sinned against than sinning.

But Barnes was again alienated from the bishop of Winchester, and from whatever cause, (for this portion of his conduct is involved in mystery) when he preached upon the subject in controversy, according to the royal command, he retracted his recantation, and so did his companions, William Jerome and Thomas Gerard, who had signed the same document as himself. Upon this they were sent to the tower, and attainted of heresy in parliament. The proceedings of the parliament of 1540 are indeed remarkable, for during the session, four persons were attainted for denying the king's supremacy, and for adhering to the bishop of Rome; by another bill four other persons were attainted for adhering to the bishop of

Rome, corresponding with cardinal Pole, and endeavouring to surprise Calais; in the same parliament Barnes Gerard, and Jerome, priests, were attainted for that "they had conspired to set forth many heresies, and presuming themselves men of learning, had expounded the Scriptures and wrested them to an heretical construction: and that having formerly abjured, they were now incorrigible heretics." They were condemned to be burnt, or to suffer any other death, at the king's pleasure. His pleasure was, that Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, together with Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who denied the king's supremacy, and adhered to the bishop of Rome, should suffer death on the same day, July 30: the three latter were hanged, drawn, and quartered, while Barnes and his companions were burnt. This, as Collier remarks, was an odd spectacle, and looked like fanciful severity; and a Frenchman, who was present at the execution, remarked, that they had a strange way of managing things in England; for those who were for the pope were hanged, and those against him burnt.

When Dr Barnes came to the stake, he declared his belief to the people assembled, and having been charged, it seems, with some anabaptistical opinions, and particularly, with our Saviour's not taking flesh of the Blessed Virgin, he disclaimed that heresy. As to *good works*, he affirmed, they could be no foundation for merit, because of the blemishes and imperfections with which they were mixed, and therefore he rested only on the passion of our Saviour. Nevertheless, to prevent misconstruction, he declared, that those who do not practice virtue, and do good works, shall never come to heaven; we must do good works, said he, because God has commanded us, and to recommend our religion, but not for any plea of desert.

From hence he proceeded to vindicate his preaching concerning the catholic Church: that he had always treated of that article, and honoured that society, in as high terms of regard as the Scripture would give him leave. And here he spoke very reverently of the Blessed Virgin.

Being asked his opinion, touching invocation of saints, he said that, he believed they were in heaven, and that their memories ought to be honoured, as far as revelation permitted : but since the Scriptures do not command us to address them, he could not warrant any such application ; and whether the saints prayed for us, or not, was more than he knew, but if they did, he told the sheriff, he hoped to be praying for him, and all the Church militant within half an hour. After this, he asked the sheriff, if he knew upon what articles he was to suffer : then he put the same question to the company ; and asked whether any person had been led into error by his preaching ? But receiving no answer ; I understand, said he, I am condemned for heresy by an act of parliament ; I pray God to forgive all those who have been instrumental in this matter, and particularly the bishop of Winchester, if any way concerned. Then he went on to pray for the king's prosperity, that his reign might be long, that his son, prince Edward, might succeed him, and finish those things begun by his father. And whereas he had been reproached for preaching sedition and disloyalty, he told them, they were all bound to obey their prince, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake : and more than that, if the king should command a repugnancy to the law of God, they ought not to resist him, though it might be in their power.

Then he requested the sheriff, to acquaint the king, that he desired the grant of five things ; First, That his highness would please to bestow the abbey lands, or part of them at least, for the relief of his poor subjects, who had very great need of such a maintenance : Secondly, That the king would please to take care, that marriage might be more honourably treated, and those engagements better performed ; that men might not be permitted to part with their wives upon slight pretence, and then keep a scandalous correspondence with other women : and that those unmarried, might not be suffered in licentious prac-



tices: Thirdly, That common swearers might be punished: Fourthly, That the king would make farther advances in the reformation, and take his directions from the Holy Scripture: and that his highness would be particularly careful not to be imposed on by unorthodox preachers, and ill council.

Jerome made a similar declaration, repeated the creed, professed his belief of every thing contained in the Old and New Testament, prayed for the king, and recommended charity, and general kindness, in a very Christian pathetic manner; and gave the company a caution, not to rely upon their performances, but on the satisfaction of our Saviour's passion.

Gerard, after reciting the articles of the Christian faith, and speaking much to the same purpose with the other two, declared his abhorrence of all errors and heresies, in case, either by negligence or mistake, he had maintained any such: and if any rashness of conduct, or vehemence of temper, had disobliged, or misled any person, he entreated their forgiveness. Notwithstanding, he said, he had used his best endeavours to inform himself rightly, and do his duty to God and the king. But if he had undertaken any thing too much for him, and miscarried in the execution, he desired God would pardon his presumption.

These three persons, having saluted each other with all the tenderness of friendship, were fastened to the stake, and suffered with the patience and fortitude of the old martyrs.—*Burnet. Collier. Fox.*

BARNES, JOSHUA, was born in London in 1654, was educated at Christ's hospital, and in 1671 became a servitor in Emanuel college, Cambridge, where, in 1686, he took his degree of B.D. and in 1695 was chosen professor of Greek. In 1700 he married Mrs Mason, a widow of great fortune at Hemingford in Huntingdonshire. It is said that the lady was so great an admirer of Mr Barnes as a preacher, that she offered to settle one hundred

pounds a year upon him at her decease, which he refused unless she made him happy first by her person; and they were shortly after married. Mr Barnes died without any church preferment in 1712, and, on the monument erected by his widow in Hemingford church, it is said, he had read over a pocket Bible one hundred and twenty-one times. He was a most indefatigable writer, and so conversant with Greek, as to be able to turn a newspaper into any kind of verse in that language, at first reading it. Yet he was the butt of the learned, who said he was *ὁνος προς λυραν* *Asinus ad lyram*, on which he retorted, happily enough, that they who thus abused him, wanted the *ὁ νους προς λυραν*. Dr Bentley used to say of him, that “he knew as much Greek as a Greek cobbler.” Barnes had a most retentive memory, and great facility in writing, but he was defective in judgment. He published, 1. Sacred Poems, in five books. 2. The Life of Oliver Cromwell, a poem. 3. Some dramatic pieces in English and Latin. 4. Gerania, or a new Discovery of Pigmies, 12mo. 5. The History of Esther, a poem in Latin, 8vo. 6. The History of Edward III, with an account of his son, Edward the Black Prince, fol. 7. Euripides, folio, 1694. 8. Anacreon, 1705 and 1721, 8vo. 9. Homer, 2 vols. 4to. 1711. These are his principal works, but he printed a great number of fugitive pieces besides, and some occasional sermons.—*Biog. Brit.*

BARO, or BARON, PETER. This great divine, to whom the church of England is indebted for his manful defence of Catholic truth, at a time when Calvinistic heresy was prevalent among her divines, and when an attempt was made to corrupt her formularies, was born at Etampes, in France, and was educated in the university of Bourges. He maintained at an early period of life the doctrine of the reformation, and, suffering persecution, he sought an asylum in England, where he was kindly received, and hospitably entertained by lord Burghley. Lord Burghley was chancellor of the university of Cambridge; and at

his recommendation Dr Baro, having become a member of Trinity college, was chosen the lady Margaret professor in 1574, or 1575. The income was small, and Dr Baro was a married man, but he lived in the university for many years, respected for his learning, and beloved for his virtues. But in 1581, the controversy commenced, which, being conducted with that bitter spirit which Calvinists are too apt to introduce into every controversy in which they take part, terminated in his resignation of the professorial chair. Dr Whitaker, who was the other divinity professor, and the generality of the heads of houses, and older members of the university, held the doctrine of absolute predestination, and all the most obnoxious tenets of Calvinism. Dr Baro, in upholding catholic truth, was chiefly supported by the younger members. It was in 1581 that Mr Chadderton thought fit to attack the Margaret professor in a sermon at St Mary's. Dr Baro complained to the vice-chancellor, and was surprised to find that Chadderton denied having intended to allude to him; and after some correspondence the matter dropped. The professor, however, was looked upon with suspicion and distrust from that period by the heads of houses and the leading men at Cambridge, who were deeply imbued with Calvinistic prejudices. It is a satisfactory thing to find how much we have improved since that period, and this will be apparent from the objections which the Calvinists brought against Dr Baro, and which they thought would be regarded as valid objections by the authorities in church and state. The objections were these: 1. That Dr Baro, in his prelections on Jonah, had taught the popish doctrine of co-operation of faith and works in order to justification—the terms were a little altered, but the doctrine, it was said, was in effect the same. 2. That he endeavoured to persuade mankind, that the doctrine of the reformed churches was not so widely different from that of Rome, but that by distinctions they might be reconciled, and he therefore concluded that both professions might be tolerated. 3. That in his



lectures he taught that the heathen may be saved without the faith of the gospel : and other strange matters that were looked upon as damnable errors. Moreover it was asserted that he brought the popish schoolmen into credit, and diminished the honour of the learned protestant writers ; that, consequently, since his appointment, the course of studies in divinity had been greatly changed in the university as well as the manner of preaching, by some who left the study of sound writers, as they styled them, although they assumed to themselves the authority to judge of their soundness, and applied themselves, as it was asserted, “to the reading of popish, barbarous, fantastic schoolmen, delighted with their curious questions and quiddities, whereby they drew all points of Christian faith into doubt, being the highway not only to popery but to atheism.”

In spite of the Cambridge controversy, Dr Baro maintained his ground till the year 1595. At this time the university was in an unhappy predicament. There had been a dispute between the archbishop and the heads of houses, the former denying the right of the latter to be judges of heresy, and the heads denying the right of the archbishop to interfere with them. For the settling of these disputes professor Whitaker, the head of the calvinistic party in the university, with other divines, waited upon the archbishop : their chief object was to obtain some authoritative statement from the archbishop by which they might silence their opponents whom they were unable to convince by argument. They were particularly exasperated with Dr Baro, who, in a concio ad clerum, had refuted certain positions maintained by Dr Whitaker, though without directly referring to that learned person. The archbishop weakly consented to nine propositions, commonly called the Lambeth Articles, in which the most offensive and uncatholic tenets of the calvinistic system are affirmed : the propounders of these Lambeth articles, by the fact of adding them to the thirty-nine already adopted by convo-

cation, tacitly admitting that the thirty-nine articles are not calvinistic. The Lambeth articles are the following :

“1. God hath from eternity predestinated some persons to life, and some he hath reprobated to death. 2. The moving, or efficient cause of predestination to life, is not the foresight of faith, or perseverance, or good works, or of any other quality in the predestinated persons ; but the sole will and good pleasure of God. 3. The number of the predestinate is before-limited and certain, and can neither be increased nor lessened. 4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily damned for their sins. 5. A true, lively, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of God, is not extinguished, doth not fail, nor vanish away in the elect, either totally, or finally. 6. A man who is truly one of the faithful, that is, endued with justifying faith, is certain, with full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Jesus Christ. 7. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, so as that they may be saved by it if they will. 8. No one can come to Christ unless it is given him, and unless the Father draws him ; but all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son. 9. It is not in every one's will or power to be saved.”

The archbishop gave great offence to the queen by resorting to this measure in order to conciliate the heads of houses, and in much anxiety he wrote to them, warning them that the Lambeth articles merely contained the private judgment of those who drew them up ; that they had no other authority than that which their learning and station gave them, and entreating them to use them with discretion. The correspondence, which may be seen in Strype, conveys the impression that the archbishop regretted the step which, for the sake of conciliation, he had adopted, but could not retrace. The archbishop had not perhaps considered the subject very deeply. But his grace was now committed, and the wary heads of houses immediately communicated the articles to the lady Margaret professor,

against whom they were more immediately designed, that he might signify his assent to them.

Professor Baro had a little time before conversed with the archbishop about them, and expressed, in the gentlest terms, his desire on the one hand not to contradict any articles of religion established in the English church, and his determination on the other not to be hurried into such extreme consequences, as that God hates his own workmanship, as he is man, without regard to his being a sinner. And soon after Dr Baro took occasion honestly to declare his principles with reference to the 17th and 21st of the thirty-nine articles, in a sermon, shewing that there were some persons who so interpreted the nine propositions of Lambeth, as to overthrow the doctrines expressly stated in the thirty-nine articles. He conducted himself very modestly, and in a truly Christian spirit, not directly attacking the Lambeth propositions, but seeking to reconcile them to the doctrines of the Church,—a charitable, though a very difficult, undertaking. His positions were the following :

1. That God created all men according to his own likeness in Adam ; and so consequently to eternal life. From which he chased no man, unless because of sin. As Damasus taught, *lib. 2. De Fid. Orthodox.*
2. That Christ died sufficiently for all : against Joh. Piscator, a foreigner, who denied it : whose opinion, he shewed, was contrary to the confession of the church of England, and the articles approved by the parliament of this kingdom, and confirmed by the queen's authority. And for proof thereof he repeated the 31st article.
3. That the promises of God made to us, as they are generally propounded to us, were to be generally understood : as it is set down in the 17th article. But these three heads some were not pleased with : namely, such as then endeavoured to persuade men that God did on purpose create the greatest part of mankind to destruction ; that by the perdition of them he might get glory to Himself ; and that Christ did not die for all ; not for that many refused to accept his benefits,



but because He would not that His death should profit them : and moreover, because they were not created to salvation, as others, but to destruction. And for the same cause they would not have the promises to be general, but extended them to those few persons (yea, rather restrained them,) who alone, they said, were created by God to be saved."

The object of the professor in saying this was to warn some of the younger members of the university, whom he perceived to be infected with the dangerous book of Piscator. But although the sermon was as moderate as it could well be, and the kind, gentle, and Christian spirit, which is always really liberal, ought to have conciliated his very opponents, Dr Baro was informed that the vice-chancellor intended to proceed against him. Indeed, immediately after the sermon, there was a consultation among the heads of houses present at its delivery, as to the best mode of acting. Dr Baro thought it proper, when thus attacked, to write an explanation to the archbishop. He observed in his letter,

"Quum me tua Dominatio, &c. Thus in English : 'That when his lordship lately spake with him about the nine articles sent thither, he spake freely that which he thought good, and what then occurred to him. But because many things came not so soon into his mind, which might be said for a favourable exposition of them, he thought it would not be unacceptable, if he wrote something more amply and particularly concerning each. Which he did also, as he said, the more willingly, because he saw some there [at Cambridge] who took them in that sense, and so stretched them, as to fetch out and confirm from them all Piscator's paradoxes. That now it was come to that pass, that he and others might scarcely say, that God created the first man, and in him the rest, according to his image, and so to eternal life : nor that he rejected any or hated any as a man, (for otherwise he had rejected and hated his own image,) but only as a sinner : according to that saying of St Augustine, God hated

not Esau, a man, but a sinner. Or the offering of Christ to be a perfect redemption, propitiation, satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, as well original as actual: which notwithstanding were the very words of the 31st English article. Or, lastly, that the promises of God made to us in Christ were to be generally taken and understood. Which were also the words of the 17th article.

“Which three things, he said, he lately touched in a sermon, remitting his auditors to that epistle of D. Hooper’s; which he told them was approved by him as orthodox. But that some did so interpret and urge, as he said then, those nine articles, just as if they had been framed; namely, to this end, by him the archbishop and the rest, to abolish those old ones, confirmed by authority of queen and parliament. Which, he said, he was persuaded was very far from his grace’s mind. That he spake therefore according to those old and orthodox articles; and did not so much as touch these new: and that as well for the preserving of peace, as for his own sake; whom from his heart he honoured and revered. Of which will of his that exposition of his should be witness, which he now sent to his lordship, more favourable than theirs was, [that were for that extreme sense of those articles.] And which he earnestly and humbly, again, and again, prayed him also favourably and with a candid mind to receive. And so beseeching God Almighty to preserve and protect him, &c. Dated from Cambridge, the 14th January, 1595.”

In the mean time the vice-chancellor had also written to the archbishop, and it is proper that the reader should have his version of the story:

“That according to his grace’s advice, sent to the university when the nine articles came down, for the maintaining of peace in the university, to acquiesce in those articles; he, the vice-chancellor, did accordingly, shortly after the receipt, use means by the heads and presidents, that every several college should take knowledge

and warning thereof: and unto some particular persons, of whom he doubted, as namely, Dr Baro, the Frenchman, he gave knowledge and caveat, by causing him to see and read over the said propositions; as also that clause of his [the archbishop's] letter, that nothing should be publicly taught to the contrary. Whereupon the said vice-chancellor added, That he thanked God, that since that time all things that way were so peaceable and quiet, that he thought there had been no dealing to the contrary, even in private: but he was sure that in public, in divinity exercises, either in the schools or in St Mary's, (where he had been continually present,) he had not heard the least contradiction. And on the contrary, so far off from personal provoking, as there had been seldom or never any maintaining or mentioning the truth set down in any of those points, the texts of Scripture not occasioning thereto. So that it was like, within short time, the former troublesome controversies would have worn out of men's minds and been forgotten. But that the unhappy (as he called it) and unlooked-for reviving, which he heard yesterday [but the day before his writing this letter] at the *clerum* sermon, to his great grief, from Dr Baro, would be, he feared, a great and dangerous occasion of overturning that their quiet state, with so comfortable hope began.

“For that notwithstanding his [the vice-chancellor's] good success and order taken, being from himself made known unto him, [Baro,] besides some other special advertisements which the vice-chancellor knew had been given him privately, (whereupon he made sure account he would no more have meddled in the controversies, especially in public,) yet the whole course of his said *clerum* (excepting some entrance he made in the beginning) was concerning the same controversies; and especially the three last propositions about *universalis gratia*, contrary to the doctrine in the same contained; with more earnestness and vehemency than was remembered that he ever shewed before: to the great offence and grief, as the vice-chancellor wrote, of all soundly affected to the truth; and to the encourage-



ment and stirring again of the minds of his disciples and adherents. And that this was the more strange and unexpected, for that his text he chose gave no manner of occasion to deal in those matters; it being Jam. i. 27, to the end thereof. [Pure religion and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this, to visit, &c.] Whereupon, they looking to hear of wholesome doctrine, and exhortation unto the fruits of true religion, for the relieving of the poor, the widow, and the fatherless, (whereof there was great need and want among them,) and that every man, touching himself, should lead a holy life, and undefiled from the corruptions of the world; that he, passing these necessary points offered in the text, fell into such course of the controversies as was before-mentioned; and so continued almost to the end of his sermon."

"This" says Strype, "is the full account the vice-chancellor gave of Baro's sermon to the archbishop, in order to lay the charge of disobedience and faction as home upon him as he could. That which followed was, that he did the same day privately and severally confer, first with Dr Clayton, and then with Mr Chadderton, (two of the heads present at the sermon,) partly to understand what they thought of the same sermon. And he found them both to think as he did: to be much grieved; to marvel he durst revive such matters, considering former order taken; and to fear it would be occasion of disturbing the peace, well begun to be settled, and making again new stirs and divisions among them; unless some wise and effectual remedy might be in time provided. Which care in that place lying by office especially upon the vice-chancellor, he being perplexed, as he said, what course to take; not seeing by what statute Baro might be dealt withal, and wanting assistance of heads of colleges, being so few then at home: he thought good first to acquaint his grace herewith, and humbly to pray his wise aid and advice, being heartily sorry to trouble his grace with such news. And so meaning shortly to call the said professor before himself and the heads, and to burden him with his

sermon, especially for the breach of the peace of the university; he humbly desired his grace, that he might, by Mr Ingram, one of the beadles then at London, (whom he had appointed to repair to him for that purpose,) receive from his grace, by letters, his good advice and help, for referring him to such order as he, [the vice-chancellor,] with the consent of the heads present, should think good to take with him. Unless it should please his grace, in consideration that he hath taught contrary to the articles, by his honourable consent and others in the high commission appointed, to send for him, and to deal with him according to their wisdoms. And so leaving the premises to his good consideration, he humbly took his leave of his grace. Dated from Cambridge, the 13th of January.

“Dr Baro, perceiving their coming upon him after this manner, repaired up to London, and came in person to the archbishop, that by acquainting his grace with the truth of the matter, he might reconcile some just favour to himself, against some of these heads that bore him no good-will. And what passed between the archbishop and him, the archbishop's letter to the vice chancellor, wrote some few days after, viz. January 16, will shew: ‘That he was very sorry that Dr Baro, notwithstanding all the advertisements that had been given to him, and his faithful promise made to him, [the archbishop,] did nevertheless continue his troublesome course of contending. That he had of late, by Dr Nevile, signified unto him, how hardly her majesty had been informed against him for these causes; and how unfit it was that he, being a stranger, and receiving such courtesy and friendship here of good-will, and not for any need we had of him, (God be thanked) should be so busy in another commonwealth, and make himself as it it were author of new stirs and contentions in this church. That at his last being with him, he shewed unto him the propositions, and demanded his opinion of every one of them severally, and that at two several times. And although the latter time he seemed

to make some frivolous and childish objections against some one or two of them only; yet did he confess that they were all true; and that they did not impugn any of his assertions. And therefore, as the archbishop added, he could not but wonder what his meaning should be, so to deal contrary to the charge given unto him by himself, [the archbishop,] and accepted by him. And that when he [the vice-chancellor] should call Baro before him, the archbishop prayed him to make known unto him the premises. But that which followed, he bade him keep to himself, viz :

“ That he doubted indeed that he had received some kind of encouragement from some that seemed to make some account of his judgment in these points, and talked their pleasure thereof, both publicly and privately. That possibly also he had heard of some mislikings of the said propositions by some in authority. [Perhaps he meant the lord treasurer, who was Baro’s friend.] But that therein peradventure in the end he might deceive himself. His advice then that he gave the vice-chancellor was, to call him before them, and to require a copy of his sermon; or, at least, to cause him to set down the principal points thereof. And likewise to demand of him what should move him to continue that course, notwithstanding order taken to the contrary, and so many advertisements and means as was aforesaid.

“ But that forasmuch as there was something ado there [*i.e.* at London, and at the court as it seems] about the said propositions, &c. the archbishop would not have them, as he added, to proceed to any determination against him, until they had advertised him of his answer, and the particular points of his sermon; and received back again from him what he thought fittest to be done by them in this matter.”

Dr Baro was cited before the vice-chancellor, Dr Goad, according to the archbishop’s directions, on the 17th, 21st, and 29th of January. In writing afterwards to Dr



Andrews, the professor himself gives an account of the proceedings. He says, as we find the statement given in Strype, "that he was sent for at last by Mr vice-chancellor, with whom met also DD. Tyndal, Barwell, Clayton, and Mr Chadderton; where the three articles gathered out of his sermon, and testified by some of St John's college, and by the vice-chancellor were exhibited against him. That concerning them he afterwards acknowledged they were spoken by him. That he was then interrogated by every one of them. That to some of their objections when he had answered, at last it was required of Mr Overall, [who, says Strype, I think was now regius professor,] and who had been sent for by him, [Baro,] what he thought of it; he openly and freely professed his consent unto him in these things. And that when also Dr Clayton, before this, had not obscurely favoured the same, this their consent seemed to him to have great weight. And that hereupon he departed quietly and friendly from them. But that, when the vice-chancellor had said that there might be another meeting, if need were, concerning this matter, for that all things could not be transacted at once; he thence conjectured, that it was likely the vice-chancellor had written to the archbishop; from whom he expected letters. Whom therefore if he [Dr Andrews] would also certify of the whole matter, as it was managed, it would turn to their [*i. e.* his and his friends] advantage. For that if they [the heads] would tarry for his grace's letters, as in all other matters was done, neither should the truth be oppressed, nor the peace of the university be disturbed, as he said.

"Moreover, as he went on, he acquainted the said doctor, that Mr Overall, but the day before, had shewed him a book written in English, and dedicated to my lord of Essex, wherein these positions were openly taught and defended; *that Christ died for all, neither sufficiently nor efficaciously*, p. 19, 20, 21. And in the margin also, *that we must not pray for all men*, p. 130. Also, *that God will-*

*eth sin and worketh it.* Which is more, saith he, than to permit or suffer it to be done; p. 123. *in fin. et. seq.* 124. Where also, answering to this question, *whether God is the author of sin?* he saith, *He is not, and He is.* Which nevertheless after he endeavoureth to explain. And the book was printed at London, by the widow Orwin, dwelling in Paternoster-row, at the sign of the Talbot, 1594.

“He further spake in his said letter of Mr Perkins; who, he said, the Lord’s day before, in his sermon, endeavoured to confute the reasons of Mr Overall, which he had taught at his living, [in some church I suppose, in Cambridge,] *that Christ died for all.* And that Overall desired it might be signified to him, [Dr Andrews.] For that he had obtained, as Baro said, if he mistook not, from the bishops of Canterbury and London, that those who contradicted him in his living, preaching *pro Christo*, [in vindication of Christ’s merits,] should be repressed: adding, that if such letters might be obtained to restrain this man, peace would be better provided for.

“We, added our professor, [in the name of himself and others, in the colleges, of his judgment,] desire all these things may be made known to my lord of Canterbury: that he may understand this evil doth not only now creep into this kingdom and church, but lifteth up its head, and is publicly promulgated and defended, to the great reproach of our religion. And hence it will come to pass, as we hope, that then he will be more favourable to us, when in a pious zeal and grief for this evil, we shall say something more ardently for defending of the truth. For it doth not seem to be a time, said he, of holding one’s peace, if we desire to give a good account [of ourselves and talents] to God.”

“He then added something concerning Dr Some, a zealous man for the doctrines Baro opposed; and wished for the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, and of the bishop of London to be interposed, to move him.

“And that if, at least, he [Dr Andrews] could prevail, that Perkins, who declaimed against Overall, might be

restrained, he should do an acceptable thing to both, and should confer a singular benefit upon himself. For that the matter was common to them both, [Overall and Baro.] Dated from Cambridge, January 20, 1595. And subscribed; *Tuus, P. Baro.*"

The vice-chancellor demanded of Dr Baro a copy of his sermon: this the doctor was advised by his lawyers not to deliver. In explanation of his conduct in refusing to deliver his sermon, Dr Baro, in writing to the archbishop, says, that whereas he had at first refused to deliver a copy of his sermon to the vice-chancellor, and that the vice-chancellor had sent for him again, and then absolutely by his authority commanded that he should deliver it to him; that no new occasion might be taken, he answered him that he would willingly do it; and did it accordingly. And presently after, by the same authority, he was commanded, that by no means, either in his readings or disputations, he should so much as touch the matters controverted. Which he promised also that he would observe; but at the same time asked the vice-chancellor that he would explain of what matters controverted, he understood it. Which nevertheless was not defined by him. Though he thought the vice-chancellor meant it of those articles made at Lambeth. But, said Baro, [fearing some advantage might notwithstanding be taken against whatsoever he might read or say,] if we go by consequences, an occasion would easily be taken by one word. But he promised the archbishop that he would take as much pains and care as he possibly could, that even that might not happen.

"Wherefore he beseeched the most reverend father again and again, and for his singular piety and good-will towards him, (who, he said, was his patron,) that he would determine concerning these things. But if yet, by reason of their accusations, any thing stuck in his mind, as though he had done contrary to his faith and promise, (which he would not willingly do,) that this at least remained, to which he fled for refuge; namely, to allow him once to have offended



without punishment. To his grace's mercy he betook himself. 'I am alone,' said he, 'but you have been hitherto my only Mæcenas and patron: and so for the time to come, I hope, you will be. I therefore willingly commit myself to you: praying and beseeching God Almighty long to preserve you safe and sound, most reverend father in Christ, to this church, kingdom, university, and to us also.' Dated from Cambridge, the 4th of February, 1595. Subscribed, *Tui nominis et dignitatis studiosissimus, P. Baro.*"

The unfortunate professor also reminded the archbishop that both Dr Goad and Mr Chadderton, his chief persecutors, entertained a private pique against him; but that still he was supported by some of the first men in the Church, Mr Overall, Dr Clayton, Dr Andrews, and Mr Harsnet. Dr Baro was charged with having asserted,

"1. That God, by an absolute will, created all, and every man, to eternal life: because, he created all according to His own image; and therefore for happiness; consequently, He deprives no one of salvation, but for his sin. 2. That there is a two-fold will in God, an antecedent and consequent will. By His antecedent will God hath rejected no body, otherwise He would have condemned His own work. To explain this, he alleged the instance of a king, a father, and a husbandman: a king makes laws for the good of his subjects; a father does not beget a son to have him hanged, or to disinherit him; a husbandman does not plant a tree to root it up again. 3. That Christ died for all men, and for every one in particular; that all, and every man might know they have a remedy in Christ, according to what is said, *That Christ came to save that which was lost.* Now all, and every man were lost in Adam: Therefore, &c. For the remedy is as extensive as the disease; and God is no respecter of persons. 4. That God's promises to life are universal; and belong to Cain as well as to Abel, to Esau as well as Jacob, to Judas as well as to Peter. And that Cain was no more

rejected of God than Abel, before he had excluded himself: that men exclude themselves from heaven, and God does not exclude them; according to what is said, *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself*. These were subscribed by Jo. Allenson, Will. Nelson, Obadiah Ashton, James Crowther, John Hooke, George Downham. Dr Baro alleged in his own defence, that he had not preached doctrines contrary to the nine articles. And with regard to the grace of God sufficient to eternal life being offered to all, he said; that grace was indeed offered to all, but in a different measure: for to some was given greater grace, to others less; to some more talents, to others less."

The vice-chancellor by virtue of his authority commanded Baro to abstain in his lectures, determinations, and sermons, from all reference to the articles, and then, but not till then, he bethought him of writing to lord Burghley, their chancellor: but to him Dr Baro had already written and stated his case. The chancellor administered a wholesome rebuke to the prejudiced vice-chancellor, and the heads of houses who abetted him, and further proceedings against Dr Baro were stopped.

Such is a brief history of the attempt made towards the close of queen Elizabeth's reign by the heads of houses in Cambridge, to pollute the church of England by the introduction of doctrinal Calvinism into her formularies; and deeply are we indebted to the learned foreigner who made so gallant a stand against them in defence of Catholic truth. The firmness of Dr Baro is the more meritorious, as he was extremely poor, and was also burdened with a large family. He knew that by the course he took he was likely to lose his poor professorship, and to be deprived of a maintenance. As it was, though his supporters were many, and the truth was gaining ground, he was so harassed and persecuted at Cambridge, that he retired from the field in 1596. It is doubtful whether the Calvinistic party would not have been too strong for him, and they were determined to oppose his re-election, though some

say that the revival of orthodoxy was such that if he had come forward he would have been re-appointed.

The ill usage he had met with was such that he retired to London, where he enjoyed that peace for which he sighed, and found consolation from the God of mercy whom he served. He died about the year 1600, and was buried in the church of St Olave, Hart street, his pall being supported by six doctors of divinity, and his funeral attended by the most eminent of the London clergy, by order of bishop Bancroft.

There can be no greater proof of the excellence of Baro's character than the fact that it remains unimpeached, though exposed to the inimical scrutiny of the Calvinistic party, which has always been distinguished for the personal hostility with which it pursues an opponent, and for the exaggeration, rather than the concealment, of his faults.

The works of Baro are 1. Four sermons on Psal. cxxiii. &c. 8vo, London, 1560. 2. In Jonam Prophetam Prælectiones xxxix.; Conciones tres ad Clerum Cantabrigiensem, habitæ in Templo B. Mariæ; Theses publicæ in Scholis peroratae et disputatae; Precationes quibus Usus est Author in suis Prælectionibus inchoandis et finiendis, fol. London, 1579. This volume was published under the care of Osmond Lake; see more concerning it in Wood's Fasti, by Bliss, i. 204. 3. De Fide, ejusque ortu et natura, plana ac dilucida Explicatio. Adjecta sunt alia quædam ejusdem Authoris de eodem Argumento, 16mo, London, 1580, printed by Richard Day. 4. Summa trium Sententiarum de Predestinatione, 8vo, Hard. 1613. 5. De Præstantia et Dignitate divinæ Legis, libri duo, 8vo, London, printed by H. Middleton, without date. Sermones declamati coram aliam Universitatem Cantabrigiensem, 4to, London. 7. Tractatulus de Regimine seu Caritate Principum, London, 4to.—*Strype's Life of Whitgift and Annals.* Wood. *Fuller. Bayle. Heylin.*

BARONIUS, CÆSAR, was born at Sora, in the kingdom of



Naples, in 1538. He began the study of law in Naples, but in 1557 he came to Rome with his father, and there devoted himself to theological studies, under the conduct of Philippo de Neri, an ecclesiastic celebrated for his zeal against heretics, and the founder of an association of ecclesiastics for the furtherance of theological studies and exercises, called the Congregation of the Oratory. On receiving the order of priesthood he officiated in the church of St John Baptist, and when, in 1593, Philip of Neri resigned the post of superior general to the congregation of the oratory, he named Baronius as his successor; this choice was confirmed by pope Clement VIII., who also appointed him his confessor, created him apostolic protonotarius in 1595, and cardinal in 1596; to which dignity he shortly added the appointment of librarian in the Vatican. At the death of this pope, in 1605, Baronius would probably have been elected his successor, but that he had given offence to the Spanish court by his treatise *De Monarchia Siciliæ*. He had thirty-one votes, but was strenuously opposed to his own election. His intense application to his studies so weakened his constitution, that, towards the end of life, he lost all powers of digestion, and loathed the very sight of food. He died on the 30th of June, 1607, aged 68.

The great work for which Baronius is celebrated throughout the world is his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, or *Ecclesiastical Annals*. It is a work which every one, who is interested in the study of ecclesiastical history, consults, but feels that he must consult with caution, as it has been shewn by those who have minutely examined portions of the work, that the author is often warped by his prejudices, and the prejudices which lead him astray in one instance, may be suspected in all. As there is an inclination at the present time, to refer to the authority of Baronius as if sufficient in itself, this caution is necessary.

Baronius had been induced by Philip of Neri to direct

his whole attention to church-history, and thirty years of the prime of his life were devoted to the incessant prosecution of ecclesiastical enquiry. He published, as an essay of his work, his notes upon the Roman Martyrology in 1586. In a short time after he printed his first volume of ecclesiastical annals, which contains the first hundred years after the birth of Christ, with a preface concerning the year of the birth of our Lord, and that which preceded it. This volume is dedicated to Sixtus V. The second dedicated to the same pope, contains two hundred and five years. The third dedicated to Philip II. comprehends the history of the fifty-five following years. The fourth is dedicated to Clement VIII, who was advanced to the sovereign pontificate in 1592. It contains only the history of thirty-four years, which ended in 395. The fifth goes as far as the year 440. It was dedicated to the same pope, as well as the sixth, which ends at the year 518. It was soon followed by the seventh, eight, and ninth, which contain the ecclesiastical history from that year to the year 842. The last of these volumes is dedicated to king Henry IV. The tenth inscribed to the emperor Rodolphus II. begins at the year 843, and ends at 1000. The eleventh dedicated to Sigismond III. king of Poland, and published in 1605, continues to the year 1099. The twelfth published under the pontificate of Paul V, in 1607, ends at the year 1198. Thus there is contained in these twelve volumes, the history of the twelve first ages of the Church.

The history of Baronius is composed in the form of annals, and distinguished by the years of the popes, emperors, or consuls. In each year he introduces all that relates to the churches of the east and west, the succession of popes, patriarchs, emperors and kings, the acts of councils, the letters of popes, the laws of the emperors which concern the Church, and its persecutions, the martyrs, saints, ecclesiastical authors, heresies, and their abettors; in a word, all the events which can have the least relation to ecclesiastical history.

“ The end which he proposed to himself in this work,

as he declares himself in his preface, was, to confute the centuriators of Magdeburgh, or rather to answer their history, which is written with great acrimony against the Roman church, with another history written on purpose to defend it. He confesses, that there was no ecclesiastical history at that time extant which was exact, complete, and to be depended upon. He accuses Eusebius with being too partial to the party of the Arians, and of having written the life of Constantine with no view than to please his son Constantius, who was of that party. He observes that the catholic truth suffers much by the works of Socrates and Sozomen, who were Novatians; that its history is too much cramped and obscured by the conciseness of Orosius and Servus; and that the greatest part of those who have written ecclesiastical history, have, without examining the truth, intermixed a great number of fables and legends with true relations, which have done prejudice to undoubted matters of fact.

The learned and candid historian Dupin himself a Roman catholic, observes that, "it were to be wished, that Baronius had contented himself with relating bare facts of ecclesiastical history, without entering so much into controversies, and the interests of particular persons. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, that his work takes in a great compass of learning, is well digested, full of deep matter, composed with care, and with as much exactness as one can expect from a man who is the first undertaker of a work, so vast, so difficult, and so extensive. *It must be confessed, that the critics have found out several faults in chronology and history; and some facts related by him, of which he had not a competent knowledge; that he made use of many ecclesiastical monuments which are either false or doubtful; that he has related falsehoods, and is deceived and imposed upon in several places:* but without being desirous to exaggerate the number of his faults, with Holstenius, who said, that he was ready to demonstrate eight thousand errors in the annals of Baronius, one cannot but confess, that there



are a great number of them. We must also at the same time acknowledge, that his work is exceedingly useful, and that he is justly called the father of all ecclesiastical historians. We must further remark, that he has been much more exact in the history of the Latin church, than in that of the Greek, being very little versed in Greek, and obliged to make use of the assistance of Peter Morinus, and Metius, and father Sirmond, for those monuments which were not translated into Latin. His style has neither that purity nor elegance, which one would wish to see in a work of this nature, and one may say, that he writes more like a dissertator than an historian; but notwithstanding all this, he is clear, intelligible, and methodical.

“After what we have said without any partiality, it is needless to relate the different opinions which protestant and Roman catholic authors have given to the advantage or prejudice of him, who are extravagant as well in the praises, as in the condemnation of Baronius. He has had a great number of adversaries and critics; as also of admirers, defenders, copiers, abbreviators, continuators and translators. Isaac Casaubon is one of the first who has written against him; he began some exercitations against the annals of Baronius, but they do not go beyond the thirty-fourth year of our Lord, and relate more to controversy, and the explication of the Holy Scripture, than history. These exercitations had no sooner seen the light in 1614, than some Roman catholic authors undertook the defence of Baronius against them. The jesuit, John the happy, known by the name of Eudæmon John, published a defence of Baronius against Casaubon, at Cologne, in 1617. The same year Julius Cæsar Bullenger, a jesuit, wrote a diatribe in French against them, and Richard Montague in 1655, an anti-diatribè against him. John d’Artis made also animadversions as well upon the annals of Baronius, as upon the exercitations of Casaubon; but this work is not thought very considerable. From that time Henry Ottius undertook to examine the annals

of Baronius year by year, but besides that his work does not go beyond the year 300, he engages himself not so much in questions of history, as in those of controversy. Augustinus Redingus, a German monk of the order of St Benedict, has written a book against this examen of Hottius, wherein he treats the same questions with very little order or judgment; his work was published in 1680: since that time has appeared the Anti-Baronius of Magendia, which is but a small volume, containing an abridgment of the animadversions of Casaubon against Baronius, with notes of Blondel, upon the beginning of the annals of Baronius, and some other remarks upon them. At length the learned father Pagi undertook to write a critique historico-chronological upon them, wherein, without stopping at questions of controversy, he shews, in each year, the faults or omissions of the annalist. The first volume of this work, which contains a critique upon the three first centuries, was printed at Paris in 1689, and the following ones have been printed since at Geneva. By the help of this work, and several other historical or ecclesiastical observations, which have been written since the publication of the annals of Baronius, particularly out of the memoirs of M. de Tillemont, might be extracted a complete and exact ecclesiastical history, exempt from the faults of the cardinal, which most of the ecclesiastical historians have hitherto copied or abridged. Among the abbreviators, Henry Sponde, bishop of Pamiez, who has continued the history, and John Gabriel Bisciola, a jesuit, are most esteemed; to whom we might also add Aurelius Perusinas, priest of the oratory, who has made a small abridgment of the work. Abraham Bzovius, a Pole of the order of preaching friars, and Oderic Reynaldus, a father of the oratory, have published continuations of the history in several volumes, which are much inferior to the cardinal's performance. His history has been translated in part into Italian, by Fr. Panigarola, bishop of Asti; into French by Claude Durand, Joseph de la Planche, and

Artus Thomas; into German by Marc Fugger, baron of Kitchburguen; and into Polish by the care of Stanislaus Carnkovius, archbishop of Gnesna.

“The volumes of the annals of Baronius were printed, as soon as they were finished, at Rome, and a little while after at Anvers. There have been since two entire editions at Cologne, one in 1609, and the other in 1624. The martyrology was printed with notes at Rome, in 1586, and 1598, at Anvers in 1589, and at Paris in 1607.”

To this we may add what is said of Baronius by a writer of our own, Dr Cave: he remarks that there are three things which prevented the annals of Baronius from being perfect: first, his great want of Greek, which made him in a manner a stranger to a large portion of ecclesiastical history; as he was unable to converse with the Greek fathers except by the help of translators, which being often faulty, naturally misled him. Secondly, Baronius was no absolute master of chronology, nor indeed could be, for at that time the *Fasti Consulares* were not corrected exactly; nor the *Olympiads* and other famous epochas adjusted with certainty: the reigns of emperors, the succession of popes and bishops were not well settled. This gave rise to so many chronological errors in Baronius, for which see the learned Pagius, *Critico-Historica Chronologia in Baronii Annales*. The third and greatest misfortune of Baronius, “says Dr Cave,” is his being prepossessed in favour of the church of Rome. The bias of inclination frequently puts him upon the use of suspected and spurious authorities for the advantage of that see.” Dupin concludes his account of Baronius with a similar remark; “It is to be wished that he had been exempt from the prejudices which his education and country gave him,”

In a book published by Parsons, in 1607, the judgment of Baronius is published with that of Bellarmine, declaring that it was absolutely unlawful for those persons in England who recognized the supremacy of the pope, to attend any longer the worship of the reformed catholic



church in England. Until the twelfth or thirteenth year of queen Elizabeth, the Romanists formed no schism in England, but though, in their private judgment, they disapproved of the mode of reforming the English church, which our rulers had adopted, they feared to secede from what they could not deny to be a Catholic church. The pope of Rome was the cause of that schism of which they afterwards became guilty, but still to the year 1607, many Romanists continued to doubt whether their schism was justifiable. Since that time the number of Romanists conforming to our church has been small, and as a party in England, the Romanists have never been able to make head since the reign of queen Mary.—*Dupin. Moreri. Cave.*

BARRIERE, JOHN DE LA, was born of a noble family at St Cerê in Quercia, in 1544, and is celebrated as the founder of the congregation of Feuillents, which is a reform of the order of Citeaux. The Cistercian order professes to follow the Benedictine rule in its primitive simplicity; but the primitive and extreme austerity of the order had been greatly relaxed in the time when Barriere, in 1562, was named abbot of Feuillent in the diocese of Rieux. Whilst a student at Paris he resolved to become a monk and reform it. After many tears and prayers in the Carthusian church at Paris, he went thither and took the habit in 1577: and established a reform, to use no food but roots and herbs, often not dressed by fire: no raiment but a single tunic even in winter, without sandals, sleeping and eating on the ground. Clement VIII. in his bull of confirmation in 1595, mitigated these austerities: but the founder himself observed them to his death. Dom. Bernard, called le Petit Feuillent, who was chosen abbot of Urvab in the Low Countries, established a great part of these austerities there. King Henry III. founded at Paris the second convent, called St Bernard's, in 1601. Doctor Asseline, who was famous at Paris, in 1635, when he was thirty-two years old, assumed the habit, taking this motto,

*Omnia nil, sine Te, Deus, omnia vana.*

*Cuncta relinquenti sis mihi cuncta, Deus.*

which he had often in his mouth. He took the name of F. Eustache de St Paul. This reformation extended itself into Italy, under the name of Reformed Bernardins. The learned cardinal John Bona, who died in 1674, was of this congregation.'—*Biog. Univ.* *Alban Butler.*

BARROW, ISAAC, was born at Spiney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, in 1613, and educated at Peter-house, Cambridge, of which he became fellow, but had the honour to be ejected by the presbyterians in 1643. He then went to Oxford, and was appointed one of the chaplains of New-college, till the surrender of that city to the parliamentarians obliged him to shift from place to place. At the restoration he was consecrated bishop of Sodor and Man, from whence he was afterwards translated to St Asaph. He was a great benefactor to both bishoprics. The state of the diocese of Man was wretched on his coming to it, the clergy poor, illiterate, and careless, the people grossly ignorant and dissolute. By the improvement of the livings, and by the establishment of schools at great personal sacrifice, bishop Barrow introduced the most salutary reforms. He purchased the impropriations from the earl of Derby, and maintained scholars at Dublin in order to improve the clergy of the island. The apostolic bishop Wilson says of him, "his name and good deeds will be remembered as long as any sense of religion remains" among the inhabitants of the Isle of Man. At St Asaph he repaired the north and south aisles of the cathedral, and the east part of the choir: he repaired the episcopal palace and erected almshouses: he abolished some sinecure rectories and raised money for the support of the cathedral choir. He was preparing to build and endow a free-school when he died in 1680. He was interred in the cathedral church yard of St Asaph, and on his tombstone two inscriptions were placed which were drawn up

by the bishop himself. The first is as follows: "Exuviæ Isaaci Asaphensis Episcopi, in manum Domini depositæ. in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. Obiit dictus reverendus pater festo Divi Johannis Baptistæ, anno Domini 1680, ætatis 67, et translationis suæ undecimo; *i. e.* 'The remains of Isaac, bishop of St Asaph, deposited in the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful resurrection through the alone merits of Jesus Christ. This reverend father died on the feast of St John Baptist, in the year of our Lord 1680, the 67th of his age, and the eleventh his translation.' On the lower stone, which is even with the ground, is the following inscription, which was made by the bishop himself, engraven on a brass plate fastened thereunto: 'Exuviæ Isaaci Asaphensis Episcopi, in manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. O vos transeuntes in domum Domini, domum orationis, orate pro conserva vestro, ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini: *i. e.* The remains of Isaac, bishop of St Asaph, deposited in the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful resurrection through the alone merits of Jesus Christ. O ye, who are passing into the house of the Lord, the house of prayer, pray for your fellow-servant, that he may find mercy in the day of the Lord.' The said brass plate was fastened at first, as is reported there, over the west door, but was afterwards taken down, and fastened to the lower stone next the body."—*Butler's Life of Hildesley. Wood. Life of Barwick.*

BARROW, ISAAC, was the son of a linen-draper in London, and nephew of the bishop whose life has been given in the preceding article. He was born in London, in 1630, and was placed at Charterhouse school, where his chief delight was in fighting and in encouraging the pugnacity of his school-fellows. Such was his conduct, that his father often expressed a wish that if it pleased God to deprive him of any of his children, his son, Isaac,



might be taken. But the father was probably a religious man, and his uncle was undoubtedly such. As he bore his uncle's name, that uncle was in all probability his godfather; and at all events we may be sure that much prayer was offered in behalf of Isaac, in such imminent danger of sinning away his baptismal grace. The prayer was heard, for when the boy was removed to a school at Felstead, in Essex, it was clear from his conduct that the Spirit of God had been busy with his soul for his conversion. An unexpected change took place in his whole character; and so great was his progress in learning, that his tutor employed him, as a kind of assistant, to superintend one of his other pupils. In 1645 he entered as a pensioner at Trinity college, Cambridge. his uncle, who was a fellow of Peterhouse, having been ejected by the rebels and dissenters, for not taking the covenant. The covenant between England and Scotland had been ratified in 1643; and while it pretended to secure the privileges of parliament, the liberties of the nation, and the king's authority, it openly avowed the overthrow of the Church in this country. As Barrow was entered at Peterhouse in 1643, and did not go to Trinity till 1645, it seems probable that he deferred his residence at the university until "that tyranny was overpast;" and he entered at Trinity, because the nephew of an ejected fellow would have no chance of escaping a subscription to the covenant at Peterhouse. In the course of two years it seems that the rigour with which the covenant had been enforced, and by which all conscientious churchman had been driven from the university, was relaxed: it is certain that Barrow refused to take the covenant, but at the same time he conducted himself with such general fairness, candour, and prudence, that he gained friends where he might least have expected them. The master of the college was Dr Hill, who had been appointed by the parliament in the room of Dr Combe, who had been ejected for his adherence to the cause of his king and his God. It is pleasant to be able to record the

kindness of this person towards young Barrow. Meeting the youth one day in the court, he is said to have laid his hand on his head, and have addressed him: "Thou art a good lad; 'tis pity thou art a Cavalier." The master intended perhaps kindly to warn the young man that his principles were suspected, and by a piece of pleasantry to warn him to be cautious. But it was impossible for his principles not to become apparent, and the friendship and kindness of the master were more than once exerted in his favour to protect him. In a public oration on the 5th of November, the young man committed the offence of so praising the "good old times," as to disparage the existing age,—choosing such a subject perhaps, because the proof was so easy. But the indignation of the dissenters, who were in possession of the college, was aroused, and they demanded his expulsion, and would have succeeded, had not the master silenced them by a striking testimony to Barrow's character; and probably not without some misgiving of his own conscience: "Barrow," said he, is a better man than any of us."

A few years after, the rebels and dissenters, who were now in power, instituted another oath called the *engagement*, requiring all persons to profess true allegiance to the government, as then established, without king or house of lords; whilst they who refused it were declared incapable of holding any office whatever. Barrow, perhaps influenced by the argument which would persuade men to yield to the government *de facto*, at first signed the engagement, but immediately his conscience smote him, he went back to the commissioners, declared his dissatisfaction, and had his name erased from the list. He continued ever after, amidst all the tergiversations of party men, and the seductions of self-interest, to move in the straightforward course of religion, loyalty, and honour.

Barrow's father had been such a sufferer for his adherence to the royal cause, that he was unable to maintain a son at college, and he was supported at the university by the generosity of that great and good man Dr Hammond,

himself a confessor of the Church. In 1648 he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and the year following was chosen fellow of the college. After his election, finding the times not favourable to him in the affairs of church and state, he turned his thoughts to the profession of physic, and for some years bent his studies that way, and particularly made a great progress in anatomy, botany, and chemistry; but afterwards, upon mature deliberation, and with the advice of his uncle, he applied himself to the study of divinity, to which he conceived himself bound by the oath he had taken on his admission to his fellowship. We may learn from himself the principle upon which he conducted his theological studies, so very different from that which was prevalent around him. He admitted the duty of maintaining *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est*: he remarks:

“It can indeed nowise be safe to follow any such leaders (whatever pretences to special illumination they hold forth, whatever specious guises of sanctity they bear) who in their doctrine or practice deflect from the great beaten roads of holy Scripture, primitive tradition, and Catholic practice, roving in by-paths suggested to them by their private fancies and humours, their passions and lusts, their interests and advantages: there have in all ages such counterfeit guides started up, having debauched some few heedless persons, having erected some *παρασυναγωγὰς* or petty combinations against the regularly settled corporations; but never with any durable success or countenance of divine providence; but like prodigious meteors, having caused a little *gazing*, and some disturbance, their sects have soon been dissipated, and have quite vanished away: the authors and abettors of them being either buried in oblivion, or recorded with ignominy; like that Theudas in the speech of Gamaliel, who ‘rose up boasting himself to be somebody; to whom a number of men about four hundred joined themselves; who were slain, and all as many as obeyed him were scattered and brought to nought.’”—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 206.



In 1652 he took his M.A. degree, and shortly afterwards entered *ad eundem* at Oxford. When Dr Duport resigned the chair of Greek professor, he recommended his pupil, Mr Barrow, for his successor, who, in his probationary exercise, had shown himself equal to fill the duties of the chair; but being suspected of being a catholic, he was not elected to the professorship. This disappointment was probably the principal reason for inducing him to quit his college, and travel abroad; but his finances were so low, that he was obliged to part with his library to enable him to prosecute his design. He accordingly left England in 1655, visited France and Italy, and in 1656 set sail from Leghorn to Smyrna; and in the course of his voyage he had an opportunity of manifesting his natural intrepidity by standing to his gun, and defending the ship on which he had embarked against the attack of an Algarine corsair, and assisting in beating off the enemy. From Smyrna he proceeded to Constantinople, where he read over with peculiar care and satisfaction the homilies of St Chrysostom, whose works he always preferred before any of the other fathers. Having remained a year in Turkey, he returned to Venice, and in 1659 he passed through Germany and Holland into England. Soon after his return, he was ordained by bishop Brownrig.

It has been supposed that Barrow was rather tainted with the latitudinarian theology of the later arminian school, (see *Life of Arminius*;) but his admiration of St Chrysostom, his practical piety, and the powers of his intellect, as well as those principles to which allusion has been before made, preserved him for the most part in that true catholic school of which his uncle, the bishop, was so distinguished an ornament. That his principles were correct on the great foundation of all catholic morality, the doctrine of regeneration, is apparent from the following quotation, which, though long, will amply repay the attention of the reader, and which may serve as a specimen of the style of this most copious of Anglican preachers:

“The memorial therefore of that most gracious and glorious dispensation, [of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, &c.] the Christian church wisely and piously hath continually preserved, obliging us at this time peculiarly to bless God for that incomparable and inestimable gift conferred then most visibly upon the Church, and still really bestowed upon every particular member duly incorporated thereinto.

“I say bestowed upon every particular member of the Church, for the evangelical covenant doth extend to every Christian; and a principal ingredient thereof is the collation of this Spirit, which is the finger of God, whereby (according to the prophet Jeremy’s description of that covenant) “God’s law is put into their inward parts, and written in their hearts!” inscribed (as St Paul allusively speaketh) not with ink, but by the Spirit, &c.; not only as the Jewish law, represented from without to the senses, but impressed within upon the mind and affections; whence God’s Spirit is called the Spirit of promise, the donation thereof being the peculiar promise of the gospel; and the end of our Saviour’s undertaking is by St Paul declared, “that we might receive the promise of the Spirit by faith;” that is, by embracing Christianity might partake thereof, according to God’s promise; and the apostolical ministry or exhibition of the gospel is styled “the ministration of the Spirit,” and tasting “of the heavenly gift, and participation of the Holy Ghost,” is part of a Christian’s character; and the inception of Christianity is described by St Paul, “But we are bound to give thanks, &c. (2 Thess. ii. 13.) and our Saviour instructed Nicodemus, that no man can enter into the kingdom of God (that is, become a Christian, or subject of God’s spiritual kingdom,) without being regenerated by water, and by the Spirit, that is, without baptism, and the spiritual grace attending it: according as St Peter doth in the words adjoining to our text imply, that the reception of the Holy Spirit is annexed to holy baptism; “Repent (saith he) and be baptized every one,” &c. . . . “for the promise (that great promise of the

Holy Ghost) is unto you," &c. . . . that is, the Holy Spirit is promised to all, how far soever distant in place and time, whoever shall be invited unto, and shall embrace the Christian profession. St John also maketh it to be a distinctive mark of those, in whom Christ abideth, and who dwell in Christ, that is, of all true Christians, to have this Spirit; "Hereby [saith he] we know that he abideth in us by the Spirit," &c. . . . and St Paul denieth him to be a good Christian who is destitute thereof. "Now (saith he) if any man have not the Spirit," &c. . . . "and know ye not, (saith he to the Corinthians) that ye are the temple," &c. . . . . that is, Do ye not understand this to be a common privilege of all Christians, such as ye profess yourselves to be? And the conversion of men to Christianity he thus expresseth, "After the kindness and love of God our Saviour," &c. (Tit. iii. 4.) . . . And all pious dispositions qualifying us for entrance into heaven and happiness (faith, charity, devotion, every grace, every virtue) are represented to be the fruits of the Holy Spirit. And the union of all Christians into one body; the catholic society of all truly faithful people, doth, according to St Paul, result from this one Spirit, as a common soul animating and actuating them: "For (saith he) by one Spirit they are all baptized," &c. . . .

"In fine, whatever some few persons, or some petty sects (as the Pelagians of old, the Socinians now) may have deemed, it hath been the doctrine constantly, and with very general consent, delivered in the Catholic church, that on all persons by the holy mystery of Baptism duly initiated to Christianity, or admitted into the communion of Christ's body, the grace of God's Holy Spirit certainly is bestowed, enabling them to perform the conditions of piety and virtue then undertaken by them; enlightening their minds, rectifying their wills, purifying their affections, directing and assisting them in their practice; the which holy gift (if not abused, ill treated, driven away, or quenched by their ill behaviour) will perpetually be continued, improved, and increased to them; it is therefore



by Tertullian (in his prescriptions against heretics,) reckoned as part of that fundamental rule which was grounded upon the general tradition and consent of the Christian Church, that Christ had sent the virtue of the Holy Ghost, in His room, which doth act believers ;” to which that article doth answer of the apostolical creed, in which we profess to believe the Holy Ghost; meaning, I suppose, thereby, not only the bare existence of the Holy Ghost, but also Its gracious communication and energy.”

In the year 1660, he was chosen professor of Greek at Cambridge, and commenced the duties of his appointment with lectures on the rhetoric of Aristotle. In July 1662, on the recommendation of bishop Wilkins, he was chosen professor of Geometry in Gresham college, in which station he not only discharged his own duty, but also supplied for a time the absence of Dr Pope, who was then the professor of astronomy. About this time he declined a valuable piece of preferment which was offered to him, from scruples of conscience, because it was annexed to the condition of educating the patron's son, which Barrow considered as a kind of simoniacal contract. In 1669 he determined to devote himself to the study of divinity exclusively, and accordingly, as soon as he had published his *Lectiones Opticæ*, he resigned his professorship at Gresham college to the afterwards illustrious Newton. In 1670 he was created doctor of divinity by royal mandate ; and in Feb. 1672 he was nominated to the mastership of Trinity college by the king, who observed that he had bestowed it upon the best scholar in England. To the patent of this appointment was annexed a clause which allowed him to marry ; but as this privilege was inconsistent with the statutes of the college, he insisted on the clause being erased. In 1675 he was chosen vice-chancellor of his university, and his life was shortly afterwards terminated, by a fever, of which he died in London, May 4th, 1687, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was interred in Westminster abbey, where a monument, adorned with his

bust, was soon after erected, by the contribution of his friends.

The following are the works of Barrow published during his life: 1. *Euclidis Elementa*. Cantab. 1655, octavo. 2. *Euclidis Data*. Cantab. 1657, octavo. 3. *Lectiones opticae* xviii. Lond. 1669, quarto. 4. *Lectiones geometricae* xiii. Lond. 1670, quarto. 5. *Archimedis opera*. Apollonii Conicorum libri iv. Theodosii Sphaerica methodo novo illustrata, et succincte demonstrata. Lond. 1675, quarto. These which follow were published after his decease: 1. *Lectio, in qua theoremata Archimedis de sphaera et cylindro, per methodum indivisibilium investigata, ac breviter demonstrata, exhibentur*. London, 1678, duodecimo. 2. *Mathematicae lectiones habitae in scholis publicis academiae Cantabrigiensi*, an. Dom. 1665-6, etc. London, 1683, 8vo. 3. *The works of the learned Isaac Barrow, DD. late master of Trinity college in Cambridge, (being all his English works,) in three volumes*. London, 1683, etc. folio. These three volumes were published by Dr John Tillotson. 4. *Isaaci Barrow Opuscula, viz: determinationes, conciones ad clerum, orationes, poemata, etc. volumen quartum*. London, 1687, folio.

Of the probity of Dr Barrow's mind a proof is given in the following anecdote. Being once on a visit at a gentleman's house in the country, he was walking at an early hour in the garden, (being an early riser,) and a fierce mastiff that was chained up all day, and let loose at night for the security of the house, perceiving a strange person in the garden at that unusual time, set upon him with great fury. Dr Barrow caught him by the throat, grappled with him, and throwing him on the ground, at one time thought of killing him; but recollecting that this would be unjust, since the dog was only doing his duty, and that he was himself in fault for having rambled out of his room before it was light, he altered his resolution; and contented himself with calling aloud until some of the family came and rescued both doctor and dog from the danger in

which they both had been. When in such moments of excitement the right principle displays itself, it becomes evident that it is thoroughly ingrained.—Hughes' *Life of Barrow* prefixed to his sermons. Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*. Ward's *Gresham Professors*. Birch's *Life of Tillotson*. Granger's *Biog. History*, and Granger's *Letters*.

BARRI, GIRALDUS DE, commonly called Giraldus Cambrensis, was born at the castle of Manorbeer, between Tenby and Pembroke, about the year 1146. His mother was descended from the princes of South Wales, and his father was one of the chief men in the principality. His uncle, David Fitzgerald, bishop of St David's, undertook to educate him, and, though at first he was duller than his associates, through a sense of shame he was roused to exertion, and when he went to Paris, where he remained for three years, he was considered a pattern to the young men of his age. When he returned to England, in 1172, he entered into holy orders, and obtained preferment both in England and in Wales. Finding that, owing to the negligence of the prelates of St David's, the Church did not receive its dues, and that the Welsh paid no tithes either of wool or of cheese, he stated the case to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury; and being appointed his legate in Wales for the purpose of rectifying these and other abuses, he executed his commission with spirit and success, and excommunicated without distinction all who refused to pay their tithes. He was very bitter against the married clergy, calling their wives concubines, and insisting on their dismissal. At Brecknock he found an archdeacon who, being married, refused to separate from his wife, and disputed the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury over the Welsh church; on which Giraldus never rested until he had suspended him, and was himself presented to the archdeaconry. The transaction does not look well, but it is justice to add that a sufficient maintenance was assigned to the old incumbent for his life. He vigorously maintained the rights of his archdea-



conry. One instance, as descriptive of the manners of the age, may be given.

Having been settled only a few days in his residence at Landen, near Brecknock, after a very laborious journey he had taken to correct the abuses that prevailed in the provinces of Melyenith and Eloen, he was surprised by the appearance of two clergymen, sent in a great hurry by the dean and chapter of that district, to inform him that Adam, bishop of St Asaph, was coming to dedicate the church of Keri, (which was situated on the confines of the two bishoprics, but of old had appertained to that of St David's,) and that unless the archdeacon appeared there in person, nothing would prevent his taking possession of that church, or even the entire province; and they intimated likewise, that if no obstacles intervened he intended to seize the whole territory between the rivers Wye and Severn, comprehending the districts of Melyenith and Eloen. Harassed by his late expeditions, and dissuaded by his former companions and followers, who, more through fear of danger than fatigue, refused to accompany him; he, nevertheless, immediately proceeded on his journey towards the church of Keri. On the Saturday he dispatched messengers to two princes of that country, Eineon Clyd, and Cadwallhon, requesting them to send some trusty men of their families, provided with horses and arms, to assist him (if necessity required) in asserting the rights of the Church of St David's, as the bishop of St Asaph was reported to be attended by a strong body of men from Powys. He slept that night at Llanbist, and on coming to Keri early on Sunday morning found that two of the clergy, partizans of the bishop, had concealed the keys of the church. These being at length found, the archdeacon entered the church, and having ordered the bells to be rung, as a token of possession, he celebrated mass with great solemnity. In the meantime messengers arrived from the bishop, ordering preparations to be made for the dedication of the church. Mass being concluded, the archdeacon sent some of his

clergy, attended by the dean of the province, to inform the bishop, "that if he came to Keri as a neighbour and a friend he would receive him with every mark of hospitality; but if otherwise, he desired him not to proceed." The bishop returned for answer, "that he was coming in his professional capacity as bishop of the diocese, to perform his duty in the dedication of the church." The archdeacon and his clergy met the bishop at the entrance to the church-yard, where a long dispute arose about the matter in question, and each asserted their respective rights to the church of Keri. To enforce his claims the more, the bishop dismounted from his horse, placed his mitre on his head, and taking up his pastoral staff, walked with his attendants towards the church. The archdeacon proceeded to meet him, accompanied by his clergy dressed in their surplices and sacerdotal robes, who, with lighted tapers and up-raised crucifixes, came forth from the church in processional form. At length each began to excommunicate the other; but the archdeacon having ordered the bells to be rung three times, as the usual confirmation of the sentence, the bishop and his train mounted their horses, and made a precipitate retreat, followed by a great mob, and pelted with clods of earth and stones. This resolute conduct of the archdeacon gained him the approbation of all present, and even of the bishop himself, who was a fellow student with him at Paris.

The controversy at Keri being thus curiously terminated, Giraldus went to the king at Northampton, and related what had passed between him and the bishop of St Asaph, who claimed a parish belonging to the Church of St David's, and which, in fact, at that time (the see being vacant) had lapsed to the crown. The king commended the archdeacon's conduct in resisting the claims of the bishop, and excited a general laughter by telling the story to his courtiers who were at that time assembled.

On the death of his uncle, Giraldus was elected by the chapter as his successor; but king Henry II opposed the appointment, not from personal dislike to Giraldus, but

because of his relationship to prince Rhys, and almost all the nobility of Wales. Like a worldly politician and a wicked man, he said that "It was neither expedient nor necessary to elect too upright or active a man to the vacant see of St David's, as such a choice might prove detrimental to the cathedral church of Canterbury, or even to the crown of England." What wonder, when such was the feeling of temporal princes, that the pious men of the age were as anxious as they are now, to establish the independence of the Church !

Giraldus, in 1176, returned in disgust to Paris, and gave himself up entirely to the study of theology and of the decretals. In 1179 he was nominated professor of canon law in the university of Paris ; an honour which he declined as he wished to return to his native land. In 1180 he arrived at Canterbury, where he was hospitably entertained by the prior and monks, answering to our dean and chapter. Giraldus is rather ungratefully severe upon his hosts, and says, "their tables abounded with numerous and savoury dishes, and with such a variety of the choicest wines, that ale and beer were not allowed to be introduced." If the prior and monks discharged their duties more punctually than is the wont of deans and chapters, (and they certainly attended to the services of the church,) in their luxurious mode of living they undoubtedly equalled those dignitaries who are often styled the aristocracy of the church. When persons defend monastic institutions against the misrepresentations of ultra-protestants, it is important not to overlook the abuses of the system ; and we are bound to admit that if the cathedral clergy were, in the middle ages, more diligent in their duties than they are now, we are not to attribute all virtue to our ancestors, and every fault to our contemporaries.

From Canterbury Giraldus continued his journey to London, and paid a visit to Richard, archbishop of that see, at his villa, by whom he was entertained with gratifying



marks of hospitality. The bishop of St David's had rendered himself so unpopular to the Welsh as to have found it expedient to retire to a convent in England, and by the advice of the archbishop, Giraldus was appointed administrator of all the spiritual and temporal concerns of the church in that diocese, until the bishop, having resumed his duties, Giraldus, in 1184, accepted the office of chaplain to Henry II, and went to reside at his court. He was deputed by the king as a pacificator to Wales, and discharged his office to the satisfaction of his employer; of Henry he speaks nevertheless in no very measured terms of censure, and with that boldness which shews that freedom was even then a birth-right of Britons, and that no restraint was laid on liberty of speech. The king said that he should have preferred him highly, had he not been so nearly allied to the princes and chieftains of Wales.

During this mission a circumstance occurred which is here narrated, as illustrative of the courtesy of the times: It happened about this time that, by an order from the king, Rhys ap Gruffydh was summoned to hold a conference with Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ranulf de Glanville, chief justice of England, at Hereford. When seated at dinner in the house of William de Vere, bishop of that see, and Walter, son of Robert, a noble baron, both of whom were descended from the family of Clare, Giraldus, the archdeacon, approached the table, and standing before them, thus facetiously addressed himself to prince Rhys: "You may congratulate yourself, Rhys, on being now seated between two of the Clare family, whose inheritance you possess:" for at that time he held all Cardiganshire, which he had recovered from Roger earl of Clare. Rhys, a man of excellent understanding, and particularly ready at an answer, immediately replied, "It is indeed true, that for a considerable length of time we were deprived of our inheritance by the Clares; but as it was our fate to be losers, we had at least the satisfaction of being dispossessed of it by noble and illustrious persons, not by the hands of an idle

and obscure people." The bishop, desirous of returning the compliment to prince Rhys, replied, "And we also, since it has been decreed that we should lose the possession of those territories, are well pleased that so noble and upright a prince as Rhys should be at this time lord over them."

In 1185 he was sent to Ireland as secretary and privy counsellor to prince (afterwards king) John; and disapproving of the prince's conduct there with regard to the Irish church, he refused two bishoprics which were offered him. During his visit to Ireland, he collected the materials for his *Topographia Hiberniæ*, which he composed in three books; and after his return to England, he read it publicly at Oxford, in 1187, on three successive days, giving one book, each day. He gave a public feast each day: on the first day to the poor of the town; on the second, to all the doctors and to the scholars of high reputation; and on the third day to the less distinguished scholars, with the burgesses, soldiers, &c. In 1188 Giraldus accompanied archbishop Baldwin to preach the crusade to the Welsh, and published afterwards his interesting *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, in two books.

This very interesting work has been translated by sir Richard Colt Hoare, and, as throwing light upon the age, is an invaluable work. The eloquence of the archdeacon produced a wonderful effect; the archbishop oftentimes during his progress confessing that he never before on one day was witness of so much shedding of tears. The enthusiasm of the age took this direction, and the assumption of the cross was the outward sign, in many instances, of an inward conversion of the heart. Giraldus himself had taken the cross, but on the plea of poverty and age he obtained absolution from the vow which he had made to go to the Holy Land. This again, in one who had been so zealous in preaching the crusade, and in exhorting others to go, raises the suspicion that Giraldus was not a very religious man. His master, the archbishop, did as he exhorted others to do; and though an archbishop had prior

duties at home, and ought not to have taken the vow at all, he was at least consistent and to be respected. By king Richard, Giraldus was appointed coadjutor to William de Long Champ, bishop of Ely in the regency of the kingdom; and he refused the bishoprics of Bangor and of Landaff. Giraldus is accused of being an ambitious man, a fearful accusation to bring against a man of God; but if he was ambitious it was not a mere selfish ambition. He desired to be the benefactor of his native church, and perceiving he could only be so as bishop of St David's: he determined to have that see or none. And his principles improved as he advanced in years, for when, in 1199, the see of St David's was again vacant, and he was advised to solicit from the king, whose family he had served, the vacant mitre, he made the memorable reply, that "a bishop should be sought after, not seek," *virum episcopalem peti non petere debere*. Nevertheless he was elected. The election was opposed by king Richard. Giraldus appealed to Rome. Innocent III received him with kindness when he arrived at Rome, and accepted the works which Giraldus presented to him with the punning and not very complimentary address, "*præsentarunt vobis alii libras, sed nos libros*." "Others have presented you with pounds, I with books:" the pun is lost in English. The archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the king, opposed the promotion of Giraldus, not on account of hostility to the man, but because of his principles; for we are told that he was involved in a tedious litigation of five years, by asserting the dignity and privileges of the church of St David's against the encroachment and demands of the see of Canterbury. He took three successive journeys to Rome at a considerable expense; but was at length defeated in his hopes, for the pope passed a definitive sentence and declared his election null.

After the unfavourable decision made by the pontiff, Giraldus thus addressed himself to his eminence in full consistory: "Thou knowest, O lord and father, that the



cause I have in hand is two-fold : first, the cause of my own election ; secondly, the cause of our metropolitan church. The validity of the one having, by thy will and judgment been annulled, I pray and beseech your holiness that the other, on behalf of which I have undertaken so many laborious journies to your court, may be allowed to follow its legal course." " And who," replied the pope, "will prosecute that cause?" "I, (said Giraldus); for although not the bishop elect, yet I am archdeacon as well as canon, and a legitimate, not a spurious, member of that church, and ready, with all my might, to rescue my mother and brethren from an unlawful state of servitude." Upon which the bishop of Ostia, the liberal and open hearted Octavian, thus addressed the council: "Now indeed, it evidently appeareth, that the archdeacon is more strenuous in promoting the advantages of his church, than his own self-interest, and that he is more actuated by a sense of charity than of covetousness." The right, however, of Giraldus to the bishopric was deemed so unquestionable, that he was usually called in Wales the bishop elect; and although he does not appear ever to have assumed that title himself, yet king John issued several mandates and letters against him for presuming to take upon himself that character.

The resolute conduct of the canons of St David's, in asserting the rights of their church, was strongly supported by the reigning princes in north and south Wales; on the other side, the archbishop of Canterbury not only employed threats but also bribes to soften the temper of the chapter. It seems that Giraldus on his return to England, finding his own appointment annulled, determined, at all events, to procure for his favourite St David's a worthy bishop. To the first of his rival candidates he objected because he was illiterate, to the second because he was illegitimate, and, (the objection is curious as coming from Giraldus) of a most ambitious disposition, to the third because he was only just arrived

at the age of manhood, and was a young man of profligate character.

The influence of Giraldus with the chapter, and his office of archdeacon, as well as his unbounded influence with his brethren, made the government anxious to conciliate him. On the day appointed for electing a bishop to fill the long vacant episcopal chair of St David's, Giraldus appeared at Lambeth; and from thence paid a visit to the justiciary in Westminster, who accompanied him to the chapel of St Catherine's, at which place the canons of St David's, and the clergy of the archbishop, were assembled; for, according to the customs of the church of England, these elections were always made either before the king or his justiciary, and not in the presence of the archbishop.

The justiciary calling Giraldus aside, endeavoured to dissuade him from nominating a Welchman to the vacant preferment, as, during this tedious controversy, they had shewn themselves so adverse to his interest; and at the same time begged him to recommend some stranger of good character and reputation. The archdeacon readily assented, and that he might not appear to be actuated by self-interest, proposed two natives of Normandy; but the justiciary disapproving of this choice, desired him to think of two other fit persons residing in England, and who were better known to him. Having obtained leave from the justiciary, five or six of the canons of St David's retired with the archdeacon, and endeavoured to persuade him to fix upon some members of their church, naming at first some canons, then some abbots, and lastly some priors, to all of whom Giraldus objected. They then mentioned Geoffrey de Henclaive as being a member of the church of St David's, whom he also rejected, because he had always coveted this piece of preferment, and lived in the greatest intimacy with the archbishop.

Being urged the next day, by the justiciary, to nominate

some other fit persons who resided in England, not in Wales, he proposed Roger, dean of Lincoln, and Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford ; at the same time desiring the justiciary to name some other candidates who, though not Welchmen, were nevertheless acquainted with the customs of that country. The justiciary having proposed Hugh de Mapenor, dean of Hereford, and Walter Foliot, precentor of the same church, (of whom Giraldus approved), asked him why he objected to Geoffrey de Henclaive ; upon which he stated the same objections he had before given to the canons of St David's. The archbishop, as well as the justiciary, were interested in the promotion of this man, as the one wished to advance his physician, and the other his son-in-law, Henry de Bohun, to the priorate of Lanthoni, which would become vacant by the preferment of Geoffrey to the see of St David's.

The archdeacon could not at first be prevailed upon to listen to this nomination, but, during their procession to the chapter house, revolving in his mind the abandoned state of corruption into which his church had fallen, and how useless and unprofitable a task it would be for him to encounter fresh troubles and dangers for its sake ; considering also that the person proposed had never openly professed himself to be his enemy, and moreover was a member of their church ; he suddenly changed his mind, and when the chapter was assembled, he thus publicly addressed its members : " I have hitherto sufficiently contended : I have very sufficiently, and not unprofitably, toiled in endeavouring to bring to life the long dormant and almost expired rights of our church ; nor have I been deterred by any obstacles, from prosecuting its welfare with the utmost diligence and activity ; that I may not, therefore, appear to you in the light of a perpetual and obstinate opposer to your wills, I freely give consent to the person now proposed, provided he meets with the approbation of our brethren, Maurice, archdeacon of Cardigan, and the other canons".



Giraldus soon after resigned his ecclesiastical preferments to his nephew, and passed the last seventeen years of his life in retirement in Wales. In the midst of his literary avocations he received once more the offer of the bishopric of St David's, and was likely to meet with no opposition from the court. But it was now too late. The offer was clogged with dishonourable terms, and he had no longer health or strength to contend for the liberties of the Welsh church, which he would not betray. He died at St David's in his seventy-fourth year, and was buried in the cathedral church. Giraldus, like his friend Walter Mapes, and many of the scholars of the time, made himself remarkable by his enmity to the monkish orders, which was, perhaps, the cause of some of his disappointments. He is said to have been in the habit of adding to the end of his litany the paragraph, "a monachorum malitia libera nos, Domine," from the malice of the monks O Lord deliver us. We know little of the concluding years of his life. He is said by some to have attained at last to the bishopric of St David's, and to have died some time after. The works of Giraldus are very numerous, but they have been unnecessarily multiplied by the older bibliographers. Some of his writings are undoubtedly lost. A very full list of all that he wrote, or that is attributed to him, is given in Tanner, not, however, without errors. The *Topographia Hiberniæ*, and the *History of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland*, (*Historia Vaticinalis de Expugnatione Hiberniæ*), with the book *De Illaudabilibus Walliæ*, and the *Itinerary of Wales*, were printed by Camden in his folio collection of *English Chronicles*. The *Itinerary* is translated into English with notes by sir Richard Colt Hoare. Abridgements of it are given in Bachmann's *Literary History of Ancient Travels*, and in Malte-Brun's *Annales des Voyages*. What remains of the autobiographical work of Giraldus, entitled *De Rebus a se gestis*, in two books, was printed with his life of St David, in the *Anglia Sacra* of

Wharton. Unfortunately this autobiography was preserved only in one MS., in which about one half of the work had been destroyed or lost.

Of another valuable book by this writer, entitled *De Institutione Principis*, large extracts relating to contemporary history are printed in Dom Bouquet's Collection of French Historians. The *Speculum Ecclesiæ* is said to be an important work.—*Hoare. Tanner. Bale.*

BARTHOLOMÆUS, DE MARTYRIBUS, was born at Lisbon, in May, 1514, and received his name from the church in which he was baptized. In 1528 he entered the order of St Dominic, and, becoming a doctor in divinity, was appointed preceptor to the natural son of one of the royal princes, which brought him to court. In 1559 he was appointed archbishop of Braga, in Portugal: when the offer of the archbishopric was made him, he, at first, refused it, and did not indeed accept it finally until he had been threatened with excommunication; and the sincerity of his refusal was proved by the fact, that the thought of accepting it caused a severe illness, from which it was doubted whether he would recover. But being archbishop, he discharged the duties with a zeal and independence much to be admired; and at the council of Trent maintained the prerogatives of his see, when an attempt was made to encroach upon the precedence of the archbishop of Braga. In that council he urged the reform of the clergy, the granting of the cup to the laity, and the curtailment of the papal claims. When some of the bishops demanded whether he intended the reform to extend to the illustrious cardinals, he replied that these most illustrious cardinals stood in need of a most illustrious reformation. Going to Rome, in 1563, he was kindly received by the pope, and formed the friendship of Charles Boromeo. On returning to his diocese, his discipline was so strict that he was accused of Lutheranism by the clergy: this made him anxious to resign his bishopric,

and he succeeded in obtaining permission to do so in 1582, when he returned to the convent of Viana, founded by himself. He died in 1590. His works were printed in two volumes folio, at Rome, in 1727; a list of them may be found in Moreri.—*Biog. Univ. Paolo. Moreri.*

BARWICK, JOHN. This generous, disinterested, and single hearted man, was born at Wetherslack, in Westmoreland, on the 20th of April, 1612; and receiving his primary education at Sedberg, entered at St John's college, Cambridge, in 1631. In 1636 he became a fellow of his college, and was residing there when the civil war broke out. The king at this time signifying the need he had of money, Mr Barwick was most active in persuading the college first to send their money, and then their plate; and himself formed one of a small party of horse, who went to convoy their contribution to Nottingham. He narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, who, in revenge, quartered some of his troops in Cambridge, and committed outrages, an account of which is given by Dr Peter Barwick, the biographer of his brother, in language which betrays a little too much the soreness which resulted from the deep feeling of injuries inflicted by worthless characters upon the excellent of the earth. He says, "Cromwell, inferior to none in watching and employing all opportunities to ruin his country, when he perceived himself over-reached by the sagacity of the Cambridge gentlemen, began to be extremely exasperated and enraged, and resolved to make the university pay dearly for daring to perform this duty to their distressed sovereign; for out of the seven associated counties (as they were called) which partly by fraud and fair words he had enticed, and partly by terror and force he had compelled into this wicked confederacy, he mustered up a pack of most insolent wretches, and quartered them upon Cambridge, as their chief garrison and rendezvous; subjugating to the control of every pitiful common soldier, all the best



and most learned men in the university, even those venerable persons already sinking beneath the weight of their many years, as much as under the oppression of this new tyranny. Being thus attended with a company of hair-brained mad fellows, not unworthy of their leader, he commits the utmost barbarities against the several colleges, breaks open their gates in the dead time of the night, and lets in bands of armed ruffians, prepared to murder the whole society at one blow, upon the least signal that should be given them by their mad commander: they take possession as they please of every private chamber: they pull down the walls, and burn all the wood work of the libraries, and making plunder of the books, sell them for a tenth part of their value. The groves, and arbours, and hedges in the public college walks they cut down like so many copses designed for no other use; and securing with guards and broken gates all the passages out of the town, they shut up within it, as in a larger prison, all the members of the university, except those (not a few) whom they more closely confined in dungeons, lest they should have any benefit of the open air, infected as it was but too much with the stench and vermin of so many nasty soldiers. All the heads of houses, together with the vice-chancellor, solemnly assembled in consistory they detained their prisoners till midnight, though most of them above sixty years of age, and that in very cold weather, because they would not give their votes in their favour, but most expressly and unanimously voted against them, resolved rather to perish with hunger and cold, than give the least countenance to their rebellion; and at last, as it were with one blow to destroy the whole university, they banish from its senate, and from their several colleges the venerable professors of divinity and law, famous for their learning over all the world, together with the vice-chancellor and about two hundred more of their most considerable and learned men, and put blockheads for the most part, and senseless scoundrels in their places. They likewise turn out of the university many other extraordinary persons of

the same order, whom their cruel usage of these had not been able, as they vainly hoped, to frighten from their duty to God and the king, and that after they had plundered them of every thing except their good conscience. But Mr Barwick, no inconsiderable part of this tragedy, together with others of the university, groaning under the same yoke of tyranny, and each taking a particular account of the sufferings of his own college, gave a distinct narrative of all these barbarities, and under the title of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, or the University of Cambridge's Complaint, got it printed by the care of Mr Richard Royston, a bookseller of London, who did great service to his king and country, by printing and dispersing in the most difficult times, books written in defence of the royal cause. And indeed, before this complaint of the destruction of the university, breathed out as her last dying groans, and sent abroad among the people, Mr Barwick had also published another work, little in bulk, but of great learning, written by him, and some other very learned Cantabrigians, and fortified with irrefragable arguments against that wicked association, which the rebels styled the national covenant, and intitled 'Certain Disquisitions,' &c. But the faction, who had too much interest in preventing the publication of this piece, having got intelligence thereof, sent their messengers unexpectedly to the press, and seizing upon the impression, committed it immediately to the flames; yet some few copies of it, privately concealed by the booksellers, are still extant. They who joined in the writing of this paper, besides Mr Barwick, and Mr William Lacy of St John's college, were Mr Isaac Barrow of Peterhouse; Mr Seth Ward of Sidney college; Mr Edmund Baldero, and Mr William Quarles of Pembroke hall, and that incomparable disputant against the schismatics Mr Peter Gunning of Clare-hall, each of whom undertook his particular share of this wicked covenant to confute, and bringing his part of the work to Mr Gunning's chamber, there they all conferred and agreed upon the whole."

Barwick having become an object of suspicion to the

republicans and dissenters, who were carrying all before them, thought it prudent to take up his abode in London, where he lived in retirement. He was admitted to the confidence of the king, then at Oxford, to whom he communicated such intelligence as he could collect, and, in fact, was the principal medium of communication between the king and his friends in the city. He was at the same time diligently employing himself in efforts to bring back to the king's interest persons who had sided with the rebels. His home at this period of his life was Ely-house, where he lived as chaplain to Dr Morton, bishop of Ely, having taken orders some time before. When the king's affairs were desperate, and he was in the hands of the army, still Mr Barwick remained faithful to him, ready at all times and by all means to promote his interests in every possible way, carrying on a dangerous correspondence with him, and making efforts to effect his escape. When the king was put to death, he entered with the same zeal into the service of king Charles II., with whom he maintained a confidential correspondence. In this he was after a time detected, and being arrested, and subjected to strict examination, in which the rack was talked of, he behaved with great spirit and discretion. The case was, however, too plain, and he was committed to the Tower, where he was to be kept in close custody, which meant that he was to be debarred from pen, ink, and paper, and to see no one but his keepers. He was at this time in very bad health, disease having been brought on or aggravated by the death of his beloved and royal master. The conduct of the rebel government towards him is thus described by his brother :

“They thought it not advisable to put him to the torture, a barbarity in this age unheard of in England, and he reduced to a mere shadow : they chose rather to leave him to perish by his distemper ; more solicitous to preserve themselves from the odium of so barbarous a cruelty, than touched with the least sense of humanity ; for lest his illness



should not dispatch him soon enough, they resolve to hasten his destruction by a most loathsome confinement, but in another prison; for by a warrant under Bradshaw's own hand, dated the 12th of April, 1650, they order Mr Francis West, lieutenant of the Tower of London, to take into his custody this dying person, and before he could breathe out his last, bury him as it were in some dungeon of that prison, secluded from the company of all mankind, but of a stern morose jailor. Nor after all this did they desist from their cruel threatenings; for they gave this reason for changing his prison, and confining him in the Tower, that he might be nearer to the rack, kept there to torture such incorrigible rebels, as they esteemed him: they threatened to send commissioners soon after, who by that method should extort from him a confession of all the wicked plots (they said) he had been hatching: nor indeed, as false and perfidious as they were in other instances, did they use to fail the least tittle of what they threatened. But Mr Barwick's hopes soared higher, than to be the least affected with their dire menaces: in all difficulties he still preserved his mind firm and undejected; and at that time fortified his faith and patience with this pious reflection, that upon the very same day, according to the computation of the church, Christ had endured more grievous sufferings for him; for it was on Good-Friday that all this was done; and at the same hour of that day, wherein Christ is recorded to have been buried, he was shut up in this dungeon, as I find noted by him in his diary. West was not only so observant of the orders he had received, as to keep his prisoner from the speech of all his friends, but was careful by boards nailed up against his window, to intercept the free air, the only relief to his wasted lungs, and forbad him the use of pen, ink, and paper, and of all other books but the Bible. Indeed all this had been expressly and by name forbidden him in a former order given to the keeper of the gate-house at Westminster: but the

lieutenant of the Tower officiously performed this grateful service to his masters, altogether beside their written orders; and for many months debarred his prisoner not only of all the pleasures of life, but almost of what was barely necessary to support it. Nor in the meantime did the rebels contribute the least farthing to keep him from starving, after they had robbed him of all his substance: nay, nor did they suffer any relief, provided by his friends for his subsistence, to be conveyed to him, unless some one person were deputed to do that good office, and of whom the new commonwealth (as they called it) should have sufficient security, that under this pretext he should do them no mischief. The person who at last was by these jealous wretches permitted to undertake this office for his friend, was one, who, as well as Dr Barwick, had not long since been a servant to the bishop of Durham. Yet Mr Barwick had reason afterwards to complain of wrong done him in the payments he made, though he had a valuable consideration for performing that service. But they never allowed this person to come to their prisoner, but when his keeper West was at leisure, or in the humour, to be there with him, to prevent any private discourse between them. Mr Barwick, who of all men living had been least used to indulge his appetite, now lived more sparingly than any mortal, after he had contracted this illness: the diet he used was herbs or fruit, or thin water-gruel made of oatmeal or barley with currants boiled in it, and sweetened with a little sugar; and this he used to cook himself in the prison, to help to pass away the time. As he was always very abstemious, so he now refrained from all sorts of made drink, whether wine or beer, or any other fermented liquor, quenching his thirst with nothing but spring water: nor did he live thus poorly, because he could not afford to fare better, (which yet many imagined, and one has written,) but partly because the state of his health required this; and partly because he was unwilling either with envy or expense to load his friends, that were kind enough to him; for there were not wanting those,

who took care privately to relieve the necessities of a person, that had deserved so well of his country : and the king himself, of all men the most compassionate, though deprived of his three kingdoms, and living an exile in a strange land, was so good to take this matter particularly into his own care ; for out of a thousand pounds at that time generously contributed to his majesty's subsistence by the lady Saville, the good king ordered two hundred to be immediately employed for Mr Barwick's relief. Indeed his majesty had so great a regard for this good man's fidelity, preserved under the greatest difficulties, that he would willingly have purchased his liberty with that of a certain impious assassin, who had laid wait for his sacred life, as Dr Barwick himself afterwards gratefully acknowledged in an epistle dedicatory to the king, prefixed to his life of bishop Morton. And when his majesty with his Scotch army was encamped at Worcester, and he that writes this, a few days before that unhappy fight, throwing himself at his royal feet, lightly mentioned among other things, the confinement of Mr Barwick, most dear to him on many accounts ; his majesty with a generous warmth of mind vouchsafed to return this answer. ' I well know that faithful servant, and hearty honest man, who for my sake, and that of all my loyal subjects has been treated with great indignity, and suffered the utmost hardships : but now, says he, the time is at hand, when I shall either with these arms succour him, and the rest of my dearest friends, that groan under the cruel yoke of this usurpation, or willingly lay down this life for them.' But you will say, of what importance was it, that his most gracious sovereign was so solicitous for procuring the liberty of this subject of his from the grievous oppression of his most deadly enemies ? when at the same time his life itself was almost utterly despaired of, from the no less grievous oppression of his distemper, and this even before the miserable estate to which that had reduced him, was sadly augmented by the severity of his confinement : and indeed Mr Barwick himself, of the recovery of whose health the



physicians had long since despaired, thought it a matter of little moment whether he drew his last breath in a free air or a close air. But in the midst of this distress he found very great reason, if ever any man did, to acknowledge and adore the wonderful goodness of God, and return him, as he constantly did, his most humble and hearty thanks, for his many and extraordinary mercies to him: for in this close confinement, he did not only experience the great care and concern for him of the chief of his friends, and even of the good king himself; insomuch that beyond what his friends were able to do for him, he wanted nothing to support his drooping life, as long as it should please God to continue it: but what far exceeded all he could either hope or wish, with those children of the Babylonish captivity, abominating the rich but profane dainties of the tyrant's table, and living only upon pulse and spring water, he throve daily, and grew fatter with this simple diet, to the no little mortification of the rebels, after he had been reduced to a mere skeleton by the consumption that preyed upon his vitals: nor yet had he made any change, either in the medicines prescribed him long before this confinement, or in his way of living; only that in this hermit's cell he gave himself up wholly to God and religion, entirely exempt from all public business, with which he had daily wasted his strength."

He exhibited during his confinement such an example of Christian patience and unwearied piety, that he made a convert of sir Robert Brown, the deputy-lieutenant of the Tower, who, with his wife and family, attended daily when he used the morning and evening service in his cell, and received the Holy Eucharist from his hands. Barwick baptized their child according to the rites of the church of England, and indeed brought him to such true repentance, that he refused to serve any longer under the usurpation, but returned to his trade, that of a cabinet-maker, as "more honest, though less gainful." Indeed, after the baptism of his child, he became hateful to his employers.

After two years, that is, in 1652, Mr Barwick was re-

leased from prison ; but being under recognizances for a year for his good behaviour, he lived very quietly. When the year, however, was expired he resumed his efforts in the cause of the exiled prince, going with lady Eversfield, then become a widow, to the house of her brother, sir Thomas Middleton, at Chirk castle, where he drew over several of the old parliamentary officers to desire the restoration of the king, particularly colonels Clobery, Venables, and Redman. Returning to London, he resumed his correspondence with Charles II, conducting it with great secrecy and skill.

“ In the beginning of the year 1658,” says his biographer, “ was published, a treatise of the nature of the Catholic Faith and of Heresy, (as it was intituled), written in English by one or two anonymous authors, which gave Mr Barwick no little interruption in matters he was employed in of much greater moment. For those inventors of pious frauds pretended, that some presbyterian noblemen, who sat in the late parliament, had writ a certain book, wherein they undertook to make it appear to the house, that the bishops had no right to sit there, because they did not succeed the bishops of the last age in an uninterrupted line, as not having been duly consecrated. At the same time they invented this story, that the bishop of Durham, Mr Barwick’s most honoured lord and patron, to answer this objection, had in a solemn speech made in full parliament, asserted in express words, that our first bishops after the reformation had been consecrated in a tavern ; and that this was so far from being doubted, that it was a fact most notorious all the world over ; adding, that the rest of the bishops present rather approved, than in the least opposed what he said. Thus was this ridiculous and incoherent fable, which Mr Mason had long since exploded, again brought to the forge by these *good* men, forsooth, and being smothered over with new fictions, was obtruded afresh upon the people. So little did they consider in the meantime, that none do more disturb the unity, and weaken the faith of the Church, for which they

would seem so much concerned, than such as endeavour by fraud and falsehood to support and maintain them. It was sufficient to confute this doughty argument of our adversaries, that the bishop of Durham was still living, as probably they hoped he was not; for he was now in the ninety-fifth year of his age. As soon therefore as his friends gave him notice of this calumny fastened upon him, when he thought of nothing less; he sent from the country, where he then resided, for his chaplain Mr Barwick then at London, ordering him to bring a public notary with him, that by a solemn protestation made before them and other proper witnesses, he might declare the falsehood of this story. When his lordship had made this protestation in due form, he employed Mr Barwick to lay it before all those lords, who had sat in that parliament, and were yet surviving, whether spiritual or temporal, living either at London, or in the neighbouring counties; appealing to the faith of them all, that, preferring the sacredness of truth to all other considerations whatever, if they believed him undeservedly aspersed with this calumny, they would freely attest it by subscribing their names. And this was readily done not only by all the lords of parliament, to whom the protestation could be carried (and it was carried to a great many) but by all the clerks also, and other officers of the house, whose business it was to register in authentic journals all such debates, if there had been any: but they all declared, there was not the least footstep to be found either of any such book, as was pretended to be laid before the house, or of any such speech, as the adversaries alleged to have been made on that occasion. The aged bishop, now past managing church controversies himself, lays his commands on his chaplain Mr Barwick to publish this protestation, together with the noble testimony thereto subjoined. And this he designed to do in a just volume: but when he heard that the learned bishop of Derry, then an exile in Holland, intended the same thing (having been engaged before with the same adversaries in that controversy) he readily left this work to his



lordship's irrefragable pen, furnishing him in the meantime with materials proper to end this dispute, not only from this fresh testimony of undoubted authority, but also out of more ancient monuments, as old as the reformation itself; and those not only such as were taken from the authentic records of the Church, which Mr Mason had formerly produced, and so astonished his adversaries with them (as with the sight of Gorgon's head) that they had remained under a profound silence now about thirty years: but likewise out of the public records of the kingdom, which agree so exactly with those of the Church, that whoever will assert, that the bishops of our reformed church were not canonically ordained, may with equal right call into question the public faith of all nations."

He was also much alarmed lest during these troubles the church of England should fail. The rebels had seized on the property of the Church, but the Church could only be destroyed by a failure in the episcopal succession; Mr Barwick, therefore, with his usual forethought laboured to have the succession continued. The king and chancellor (Hyde) were quite ready to countenance the proceeding, and to sanction the consecration of some learned divines to certain of the vacant sees; but there was a lukewarmness evinced by the remaining bishops, especially by the bishops of Exeter and Oxford.

"Besides these two bishops, there seem to have been also some of the inferior clergy recommended to the episcopal office, who did not sufficiently answer his majesty's expectation. Some of these, if I be not mistaken, were by ill health rendered incapable of bearing so great a weight. But in some few perhaps there was wanting a greatness of mind equal to so difficult an employment: unless you had rather impute it to an affectation of too much modesty. It is in the ecclesiastical fabric, as it is usually in all others, that the want of one pin loosens the whole frame: nor was it thought an easy matter to redress this grievance; when the king being unacquainted with it, and removed at a great distance, his good subjects esteemed

it almost a piacular offence, to fix the least pin into this building at their own discretion, for fear they should be charged with any infringement of the royal prerogative. But they might have done what had been far more acceptable to their most indulgent prince, who in so difficult a state of affairs was not very solicitous about those lesser matters, if in a work of that importance more expedition had been used by those whose interest it was to despatch it. The purpose was to fill all the vacant sees in both provinces : but since none that was ready to comply with any thing the governors of the Church should direct, would willingly accept the bishopric of the Isle of Man in the province of York, (for this had been a sort of banishment, and being driven, as it were, from the company of men, or rather thrust into the jaws of a cruel tyrant, who then governed the Isle,) this was the occasion of some difficulty. To remove this impediment and pretence of shuffling, the earl of Derby most affectionately besought Mr Barwick, that he would condescend to accept of that poor bishopric ; for it was in the patronage of that noble lord, and he was very solicitous to have it well filled. Mr Barwick (though never to be deterred by any danger from what became the duty of a good man, yet) had reasons, in his opinion of some weight, why he could not very willingly suffer himself to be made a bishop ; lest, namely, he should be thought by some, to have laboured so indefatigably in the business of the ecclesiastic succession, only to procure himself a higher title. Yet that there should be no farther stop made by those tardy lingerers in promoting this work, he promised to comply with his lordship's request, if it should appear necessary. But that all pretence of delay might be taken away from every one, the chancellor in the king's name writes a letter something more pressing, dated from Brussels, Feb. 20, 1660, in which he censures the dilatory proceeding of those, who acted with a little too much coldness in this affair : for it was his majesty's intent, that the clergy should concert this matter

among themselves, as a province peculiar to them ; and at their discretion, as occasion should offer, remove out of the way whatever obstructions there might be to a work of that importance. It is certain, his majesty had not the least suspicion of their encroaching upon his prerogative ; and it was his opinion, that no room should be allowed to any farther procrastination and delay. The chancellor's letter has this passage in it.

‘ Concerning the business of the Church, I will confess truly to you, I am always ashamed of mentioning it to his majesty, who is as much troubled and ashamed, that there should be no more care taken of it by those, whose part it is, when he hath done all that he can. I cannot blame you, for not being desirous of accepting the bishopric of Man ; which if you should do, nobody will accuse you of ambition. So that you will not thereby be less capable of pressing on the work ; but on the contrary will give a good example to others, by shewing them, that for the Church's sake you expose yourself to as much danger, as they can do, and when you can receive nothing to recompense it. The king bids me tell you, that as he doth intend you a much better preferment, so if it be found necessary, that you submit to this for the present service, you shall not continue in it, after his majesty shall be able to remove you from it. I hope what Mr Allestree will say from the king, when he shall be heard, will prevail with the bishops to proceed to the despatch of the whole ; and if they shall find it counsellable first to provide for the northern province (if the person designed by the king for Chester shall refuse) that they chuse as for Carlisle (which he leaves to them to do) so another fit person for Chester ; and then since the election for Man is in my lord of Derby, and he hath conferred it upon you, and much time may be spent in the alteration ; I hope your friends will persuade you to accept of it, for the facilitating the rest.’

“ I must own, that I have with some freedom censured



the slowness of a few of the clergy in the business of the Church : yet I am willing to think, there is no reason that any one should blame me for this, as if I intended to cast any reflection upon their order, for which no man has more veneration than I. Since those I complain of, that they interrupted the noble endeavours of many others, were themselves but very few; and I readily own, and congratulate with the church of England, that far the greatest part of her clergy were so constant to their duty, that neither the loss of all they had, nor imprisonment, nor banishment, nor even death itself was sufficient to deter them from it. And those very men, whom I have now observed to have been something deficient therein, did more than once in times of distress obtain immortal praise for their Christian fortitude and patience. But it was certainly very indecent, when their dearest and most afflicted mother the Church was now in her extremity, and implored their assistance, that every one according to his several ability, did not apply himself with greater solicitude to relieve her. Nor did I think it at all just, that when the fault belonged to very few, the imputation of it should be charged upon the whole number : for if there be no difference to be made between the timorous and the brave, between him that is slothful, and him that is diligent ; then it is in vain that so many great men have endured the severest confinement for the public liberty, nay, in vain that they have poured out their generous and noble blood, as if useless and superfluous, for their most dear country.

“ There was no doubt made but this letter, together with his majesty’s command given to Mr Allestree by word of mouth, would have effectually spurred on the most dilatory of the clergy to finish this work out of hand ; if by I know not what ill fate two new obstructions had not intervened : one was that Mr Barwick’s letter, as it was going to Brussels, the other, that Mr Allestree as he was returning home from thence, both fell into the enemy’s hands. Mr Allestree (betrayed by whose perfidiousness

is unknown) was no sooner landed upon the English shore, but he was immediately made a close prisoner; and Mr Barwick's letter, with more sent by Mr William Rombald and others, were intercepted by the garrison of Dunkirk, then at enmity with the king."

In all the political as well as ecclesiastical movements, Barwick's cool head was employed, and his sound judgment was relied upon by the king's ministers. When at last general Monk declared for the king, Barwick was enabled to afford him important assistance. And when the return of the king was secure, Mr Barwick was sent by the bishops to Breda, with the following instructions:

"I. He was ordered in the first place to wait upon the right honourable the lord chancellor of England, and to beg his lordship's assistance to present a most humble petition to his majesty in the name of the bishops, and then to deliver their lordships' letters to the chancellor, to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to the secretary of state, wherein they returned those great men their most thankful acknowledgments for their piety and affection to the Church in her late most afflicted state.

"II. Then he was instructed to give his majesty a distinct account of the present state of the Church in all the particulars wherein his majesty desired to be informed; and to bring the bishops back to his majesty's commands, with regard to all that should be thought proper for them or any of them to do.

"III. He was likewise humbly to ask, what was his majesty's pleasure with regard to some of the bishops waiting on the sea-coast to pay their duty to his majesty, when by God's blessing he should soon land in England; and whether it was his royal pleasure, that they should attend him there in their episcopal habit, and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his majesty pleased should wait his arrival.

"IV. He was also to enquire concerning the number of his majesty's chaplains, whether any of them, besides those in waiting, should attend his majesty's arrival upon the

coast, and to beg that his majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

“V. He was further commanded most humbly to beseech his majesty, that if Dr Lushington, formerly the king’s chaplain, should offer to officiate in that capacity again, his majesty would be pleased not to indulge him that favour, till inquiry should be made concerning his suspected faith and principles.

“VI. Since it has been customary for our kings, after any extraordinary mercies received from God, to celebrate a public thanksgiving in St Paul’s cathedral, Mr Barwick was also enjoined humbly to beseech his majesty to signify, what was his royal pleasure on this behalf, in the ruined estate of that church.

“VII. His last instruction was, to give a just and due account to his majesty (who was well acquainted with all that affair of the Church mentioned above) why it had met with no better success.”

Barwick was graciously received at Breda, and was named one of his majesty’s chaplains. On his return to England, he visited his old university, but finding his place of fellow filled by a deserving person, with his usual generosity, he did not attempt to resume it; but he took at that time his doctor’s degree. “It being the custom of the university,” says his biographer, “that whoever would qualify himself for a doctor in divinity’s degree, should undertake scholastically to explain and determine some theological question in the public schools, Mr Barwick for his dissertation on that occasion, made choice of the thesis or position following: *exomologesin primitivæ ecclesiæ esse disciplinam piam, ejusque restitutionem esse maximè optandam*: that is, that the method of imposing penance and restoring penitents in the primitive church was a godly discipline, and that it is much to be wished it were restored: for whilst our misemployed pretenders to reformation were labouring with all their might to expunge out of our liturgy the pious rites of the ancient



church and customs in the daily sacrifice hitherto obtaining among us : Mr Barwick on the contrary with no less industry endeavoured to kindle in men's minds the sparks of primitive piety, and if not to call back to his own times that most wholesome discipline, which had so long been piously and ardently desired by the church of England (a thing that appertained neither to his station, nor to his subject) yet at least to prove it from the ancient monuments of the Church, to explain and recommend it to his pious auditors, and pray for all success to its being happily restored : for he thought it by all means proper to appeal to that lively vigorous Christianity of the primitive times, when piety towards God, reverence to the pious governors of the Church, faith and allegiance to the most august emperors of the civil government, and mutual charity amongst brethren conspired in an indissoluble league together. Nor indeed after such inexpressible mercies received from the hands of the Almighty, could he conceive that any thing ordinary or vulgar in the practice of religion, much less what had neither force nor spirit, could beseem the church of England."

Instead of pushing his own interests, Dr Barwick was only anxious to provide for those who he knew had been the king's chief friends in adversity, and who, after the manner of restored governments, were likely to be neglected. He refused to be made a bishop, lest the zeal he had shewn for the maintenance of that order during the depression of the Church, should be attributed to interested motives, and thus interfere with his usefulness, but he accepted the deanery of Durham.

"At Durham he enjoyed a very large revenue, where-with he both repaired the public buildings sacrilegiously ruined, and relieved the poor, and kept hospitality, entertaining strangers of all ranks, not delicately indeed (which he never affected) yet handsomely and generously. But above all things his chief care was, that God's most pure worship should be celebrated with the utmost decency

(which by the rage of the fanatics had been long abolished both at Durham and Houghton) and that a bishop should be chosen for the consolation of the widowed church. His next concern was, that all the prebendal houses, and especially the decayed fabric of the cathedral, should not only be every way secured against the injuries of the weather, but also embellished with such ornaments, as became the house of God. He took care likewise to erect a grammar school from the ground, and make it a nursery of good literature: he brought water into the college to supply the occasions of all the prebendaries' houses: he took upon himself with great readiness and affection, and with a most holy zeal, both to bring all the officers of the church under good discipline, and to a regular life, and to augment the stipends and salaries of the poorer sort, not only of the mother church, but of all the churches which depended upon it: and the venerable chapter not only gave their consent to all this, but most readily joined their helping hand to promote it. Yet they were so far from exacting in the matter of fines upon such as had leases of the church lands, and were so beneficent to all the poor, that in an age very little favourable to the clergy, they are mentioned with honour to this day for their humanity, candour, and piety. Nay, in many cases they were so bountiful, as to recede from their own right in favour of their successors, that the revenues of the church might descend to them with some augmentation. But how much even in a few months they deserved of that present age, and how much of posterity, will appear more evidently from the things done about that time, and registered in the archives of the church of Durham, than from any thing I can say of them. But the registrar of that church who had survived the late troubles, being incapable of performing his office for want of understanding Latin, the trouble of registering the orders of the chapter lay generally upon Dr Barwick alone, who performed the office not only of the dean, but of the registrar, though he enjoyed but a mean share of health during that whole

winter : so unwilling was he at any time to spare himself, where it was in his power to serve the church ; and so careful that nothing should be transmitted to posterity, which could in the least reflect on that fidelity, wherewith he administered his great charge in the Church. And indeed that cathedral stood in the utmost need of such a dean and chapter ; for besides the common sacrilege of the English enthusiasts, whereby all the churches, especially the cathedrals, were almost ruined ; that of Durham had moreover frequently felt the deadly hands of the Scots, and suffered more severely from the conquered, than from the conquerors : for by Cromwell's order, the Scotch prisoners taken at Dunbar fight, were confined in this august sanctuary, till, to preserve themselves from the cold of the winter, whereby they must otherwise have perished, they had been forced to make fires of all the wood-work therein, which they were able to pull down. But these undertakings were too great for Dr Barwick to see finished, while he enjoyed the deanery of Durham : for before the year was expired, the governors of the church, by his majesty's command, sent for him up to London, to take possession of the deanery of St Paul's, which then happened to be vacant ; as a person not unfit to contribute something to the reparation of the immense ruins of that cathedral. It is well known to every one, that if Dr Barwick had regarded his own private interest and advantage, he would not have accepted this new deanery, where there was neither house nor furniture, but what was either hired or bought, in exchange for that other, where neither was wanting. And indeed in answer to his majesty's message, he wrote expressly, that he knew very well, the dignity whereto he was going to be promoted, was both of less value than that he must relinquish, and of greater care and trouble ; and that what he then enjoyed was so agreeable to him, that if it were at his option, he would not quit it for the greatest dignity in the Church, much less for that he was then commanded to accept ; yet that he received his majesty's commands with



the utmost veneration, and should willingly comply with the orders of his superiors in the Church. But though he was not much addicted to his own private gain, yet was he not very easily torn away from the north, which was always dear to him, and where he was much beloved; nor from that venerable college of his brethren, to which he had engaged himself in the strictest ties of love and friendship."

Dean Barwick was not one of those dignitaries of the Establishment, who regard their stalls as sinecures, and use the property which pertains to them for the aggrandizement of their family, while they wickedly neglect the services of the Church; forgetting that if they have a right to their fines, the poor laity have also a right in the cathedrals, of which it is dishonest to defraud them; that the laity may justly claim from those who hold their preferment on the condition that the services of the Church be performed with all the magnificence which our ritual admits of, and with the full accompaniment of music; and that they may also claim in these churches the celebration of the Lord's supper, at least every Sunday and festival, that poor sorrowers, needing the comfort and support of a weekly communion may repair to the cathedral town for the purpose, if such be their pleasure. A romanist has observed that he never sees an English dean, without thinking of the dog in the manger; he will neither use his cathedral himself, nor suffer those to use it who are willing.

The new dean's first care at St Paul's, as it had been at Durham, was to restore the celebration of divine service by the sacred music of the choir. "He then corrected many abuses. But among all those religious designs which employed his daily thoughts, there was none he esteemed and desired to effect more (even from the time the Church was first restored, and cleansed from the errors which had defiled it) than that the Holy Communion should be oftener administered in that famous church committed

to his charge, than it had ever used to be hitherto. For he could not but be ashamed when he read the rubric (as many other good men also were) as often as he observed, that it is there enjoined in express words, that "in cathedral and collegiate churches and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the communion with the priest every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary." Which most wholesome appointment he saw so much neglected almost every where, that there were far less frequent occasions, than was meet, of partaking of the mystical banquet of Christ's Body and Blood. Nor was he willing to think so hardly and so dishonourably of the greatest and most famous city in the world (wherein he knew many excellent and pious persons, utter enemies to the wild opinions of the sectaries) as not to expect from thence a sufficient number of communicants ready to present themselves at their Lord's holy table, as often as the laws of the Church require; especially, if in sermons the people were diligently admonished, and clearly instructed concerning so holy and necessary a duty, so agreeable to the standard of primitive piety, and the example of the apostolic age. For what sight could be more worthy of God, angels, and men, than after mercies received from the Almighty, which no time should ever efface out of pious minds, to see the people often prostrate on the holy pavement, humbly stretching out their hands to God, and out of pure hearts as it were continually offering him their highest praises and eucharistic vows?

"But while Dr Barwick was employed in the discharge of this province, he was called to another and a more sublime degree of dignity, to which the order of presbyters in our church has none equally either illustrious or difficult: for by the unanimous suffrage of all the clergy of the province of Canterbury assembled in convocation, he was chosen president of the college of presbyters, or (as it is commonly called) prolocutor. But the favour and good will of those who advanced him to that dignity, gave him

far more pleasure, than the dignity itself; when he found plainly, that some whose interest it was very much, that the practice of religion should be zealously promoted, were not yet hearty enough in their endeavours to restore the decayed principles of the Church. But if the convocation had thought fit, they might have consulted the reputation of the clergy better, either by reviving those old laws, which the late schism had rendered obsolete, or by making new ones, as in their prudence they should have seen occasion. But who they were that prevented laying hold of an opportunity of doing the Church that service, it is not lawful to conjecture, where the case is invidious, and perhaps not sufficiently known. Yet this is most certain, that his sacred majesty granted this venerable assembly liberty under the broad seal to accomplish this work: nor is it less certain, that the convocation divided itself into diverse colleges or committees for carrying it on, and assigned each their peculiar share therein. Yet to the very great grief of all good men, these preparations came all to nothing: for the endeavours of many, though very hearty, were wholly frustrated by one or two, on whom this matter chiefly depended. But this neglect of the affairs of religion was matter of so much anguish to Dr Barwick's pious mind, that I have heard him give vent to his grief in expressions to this purpose; that neither the desperate disease he formerly laboured under, nor the severity of his confinement, nor death itself, nor the torture he was often threatened with, were ever so grievous to him: for who that was not absolutely divested, I will not say of all religion, but of common humanity, could with an even mind have borne to see exposed to sale in the booksellers' shops publicly and with impunity, principles worthy of the direst anathemas, such as these following, viz: that the murder of the king, and other atrocious crimes perpetrated by the late rebels, were facts done by persons not using their free will, but necessarily complying with the will of God; and that God Himself is both the author and per-



suader, not only of all good, but of all evil; nay, that nothing is in its own nature either good or evil, any farther than as it is forbid or permitted by the municipal laws of every government? Under the shelter and protection of these principles, such impiety as hardly any age had heard of, disdaining its secret recesses and obscurity, was not ashamed to put out its dreadful head, and with great arrogance stalk publicly through the open streets, as a most unlucky omen, and melancholy presage of those calamities which soon after followed. Such at that time was the state of the church of England, that had been tossed of late by so many waves, had struck on so many sands, been dashed against so many rocks, and when at last by the providence of God she was happily driven to the harbour, and even there just ready to perish, was imploring help (alas how in vain!) from her own sons, who, she made no doubt, were very fit to govern the helm. For this was but too evident, that there were some at that time, who on the restoration of the monarchy did not answer the expectation conceived of them under its oppression, rather chusing to make waste of, and destroy all the effects of God's immense bounty, than reap any advantage for the times to come from a success of affairs, that far surpassed all men's hopes: so much more difficult it is to bear prosperity than adversity.

The constitution of Dr Barwick was so entirely broken, that it became manifest to his friends that he was unequal to the duties which devolved upon him, and which, so long as they were duties, he determined to discharge. About the end of the year 1662 he began to be very ill, and was for some months confined to his chamber. But the pious dean was determined not to be wanting to his cathedral at Christmas, "so earnestly desirous was he to encourage the devotion of the citizens assembling themselves together at the Holy Communion, to join in their most sacred vows, and to offer them up to God; with his own hand, though weak and infirm, willingly reaching forth to such as desired them, the most

holy mysteries of our Lord's passion." It would have been glorious under such circumstances to have died; but though such honour was not vouchsafed to him, he then received his death stroke; for by the agitation caused by "his officiating at the altar," he was seized with vomiting of blood and other most alarming symptoms.

Upon this he was ordered a change of air, and retired to Therfield in Hertfordshire, when he desired to resign his deanery; which he would have done, had he not received the commands of the bishops now in convocation, to retain it. Finding himself too far from London at Therfield, he returned to Chiswick, where, in some measure, he was restored to health, and applied himself to the putting in order of the archives of St Paul's church; but this was too much for him, and coming on an extraordinary occasion to London, he was seized with a pleurisy, which carried him off in three days. These three days he dedicated to God alone and the exercise of private devotion: his spiritual adviser on this occasion was Dr Peter Gunning, afterwards bishop, first of Chichester, then of Ely. "Having received the sacred viaticum from this excellent man, he put off this mortal body, and left the earth on the 22nd of October, 1664, after he had struggled almost two years with his grievous distemper."

His fraternal biographer concludes his life with remarking: "It was at a very seasonable time, that it pleased God of His great goodness to release this excellent person from the great load of public cares which lay upon him, and also to take him away beforehand from those calamities of this famous city, which to that time were unheard of, and followed in a very short space after. For what more grievous in this life could have happened to him, (who though of a spirit never broken in his own misfortunes, yet was the soonest moved of any man living with those of others,) than within two years after to have seen first the mighty destruction of the people of London in all the streets on every side seized with a most terrible pestilence? Then immediately after, with what weeping

eyes would he have beheld almost all the buildings of the city, whether sacred or civil, brought under the dominion of unconquerable flames, and within three days reduced to ashes? With what astonished ears would he have received the direful crashings of the most noble fabrics falling down to the ground on every side? Particularly the vast pile of St Paul's cathedral, which had been the subject of so many of his prayers, and occasioned him so much solicitude. Alas! after so immense a devastation, how poor a consolation must it have been to him, either that the roof of that part of the choir, under which he was accustomed so readily to pour out his eucharistic vows, had neither its rafters burnt, nor its lead melted, but remained untouched, though the flames raged all about it; or that of that vast fabric, he might have seen one little oratory (wherein he was used every day more than once humbly on his bended knees to implore God's blessing upon himself in private, before he addressed himself to the public service,) continue safe and unhurt in the midst of the flames? Nor were there wanting persons of great worth, who had so high an opinion of Dr Barwick's piety, as to make no doubt of imagining, that these little remains of that vast pile, were, by the Sovereign Ruler of all things, and of this fire in particular, indulged in some measure to his most sacred ashes, and rescued unhurt from the midst of the flames, as of old the worshippers of the true God were delivered from the fiery furnace at Babylon; by these instances to render it more evident, with how much greater clemency he would have acted with the rest, if we had all worshipped him there with the same piety and affection, with which that holy and most zealously devout man did. Alas! with how grievous reproaches would he, and the religion of his Church, have been pursued by the fanatics, far less candid interpreters of the divine judgments, (though he was used daily, in that very place, to offer up most ardent prayers to God also in their behalf,) if these remains, of how little moment soever, which survived that immense ruin, had been



either the only parts of the church, or the first, that had yielded to the rage of the flames? It is certain this race of men conceived no little envy, that these small parts of the church, after that mighty conflagration, like brands without any human help plucked out of the fire, had beyond all men's expectation, continued untouched: yet I heartily pray, and firmly hope (now that Dr Barwick is succeeded in the deanery by the very Reverend Dr William Sancroft, a person of the greatest prudence, learning, and integrity) that these poor remainders were preserved by the propitious Deity, as pledges that the whole shall one day rise again with more splendour and magnificence."

The chief authority for this article is the *Life of Dr John Barwick*, written in Latin, by his brother, Dr Peter Barwick, and translated by Hilksiah Bedford; together with the contemporary historians.

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In bringing this volume to a close, the reader will perceive, that as a collection of biographies it is complete in itself: he has a detailed account of such illustrious saints as Athanasius, Augustine, Ambrose, and Anthony; of Anglo-saxon and English divines, such as Alcuin, Ælfric, Andrewes, Barrow, and Barwick; of Schoolmen, such as Anselm, Albertus Magnus, and Aquinas; together with a history of the Arian, Arian, Pelagian, Lollard, Anabaptist, Arminian, and Puritan heresies: in the life of Augustine of Canterbury, he will find a history of the first formation of the church of England: in the life of Arundel a description of the first outbreak of ultra-protestantism; in the life of Atterbury a narrative of the circumstances attending the last meeting of convocation for the despatch of business; and in the life of Arnould, some account of the Jansenist controversy in the church of France.





















